

# MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXIV

*February 1927*

NUMBER 3

## CHAUCER'S LADY OF THE DAISIES?

In the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXI, 293-317, under the title "Chaucer's Lady of the Daisies," Professor F. Tupper, Jr., proposed the ingenious theory that in choosing Alceste as the central figure of the Prologue of the *Legend of Good Women* Chaucer erected a monument *aere perennius* to the charms of one of the ladies of Queen Philippa's household, Alice de Cestre by name.

This lady appears in the *Life Records of Chaucer* as a *souzdemoiselle* of the royal household in 1368 and 1369, and therefore must have been well known to Geoffrey and Philippa Chaucer. She seems to have been married as early as June, 1356, and to have been left a widow at some date between 1365 and 1370. Her widowhood Professor Tupper regards as essential to her fitness for the rôle of Alceste. "Nor do I think," he says, "that she could be Chaucer's Alceste unless she had early lost her husband and had long cherished his memory." The reason for this is difficult to discover, as, for all we know, Admetus may have outlived his devoted wife.

It is, however, not only as a woman who long cherished the memory of her dead husband that Chaucer celebrates Alice Cestre, but as one who "Taughte al the crafte of fyne loving"; one whom he now "deems the light of his life, his guide, his earthly God." With this reverent worship is mingled so ardent a passion—"Ther lovede no wyght hotter in his live"—that, though Chaucer may well have loved the lady while his wife was still alive, it would have been highly improper for him to publish the Prologue, expressing his devotion to her, until his wife had been dead some months (pp. 314-16).

Few scholars, I think, have accepted this theory as at all probable, and none, so far as I remember, has seriously discussed it. I should not now bring it up for discussion if I had not recently come into possession of certain records which enable us, as I believe, to reach a definite and final decision with regard to it. I will state them briefly.

The first record I found was in a list of payments in the Household Book of Edward III for the fortieth and forty-first years of his reign, and read as follows: "To Alice de Cestre and Margaret de Knyghtle, washerwomen of the linen of the Queen's Chamber and of the vestments of the Chapel of the King and Queen, to each of them for wages, wood and everything for the term of this account 26s 8d, total 53s 4d."<sup>1</sup>

No doubt Judy O'Grady is as much entitled to romance as the Colonel's Lady, but one hardly dares speculate concerning the gale of merriment with which the sophisticated court of Richard II would have greeted a poet's attempt to celebrate as the ideal of womanly virtue and beauty one whom all knew as the Queen's washerwoman.

Two days later the second record turned up, also in one of the Household Books. There, in a list of members of the household, occurs the entry "Alice de Cestre lotrix."<sup>2</sup> The significance of the entry lies in the fact that its date is 18 Edward III (1344-45); in other words, Alice de Cestre was a washerwoman attached to the royal household when Chaucer was a small boy, somewhere between one and five years old. There is no other Alice de Cestre in the Household Books, and the continuity of the records concerning her gives assurance that the *souzdamoiselle* of Professor Tupper's theory is specifically the *lotrix*, or "laundress," of the records I have quoted.

If Professor Tupper had seen these records he would of course not have developed his theory, and I have no doubt that he will now willingly repudiate it.

In speaking of Chaucer's possible lack of entire fidelity to Philippa during her lifetime, Professor Tupper says, "Well, we cannot altogether forget that unhappy business of Cecilia Champagne" (p. 314).

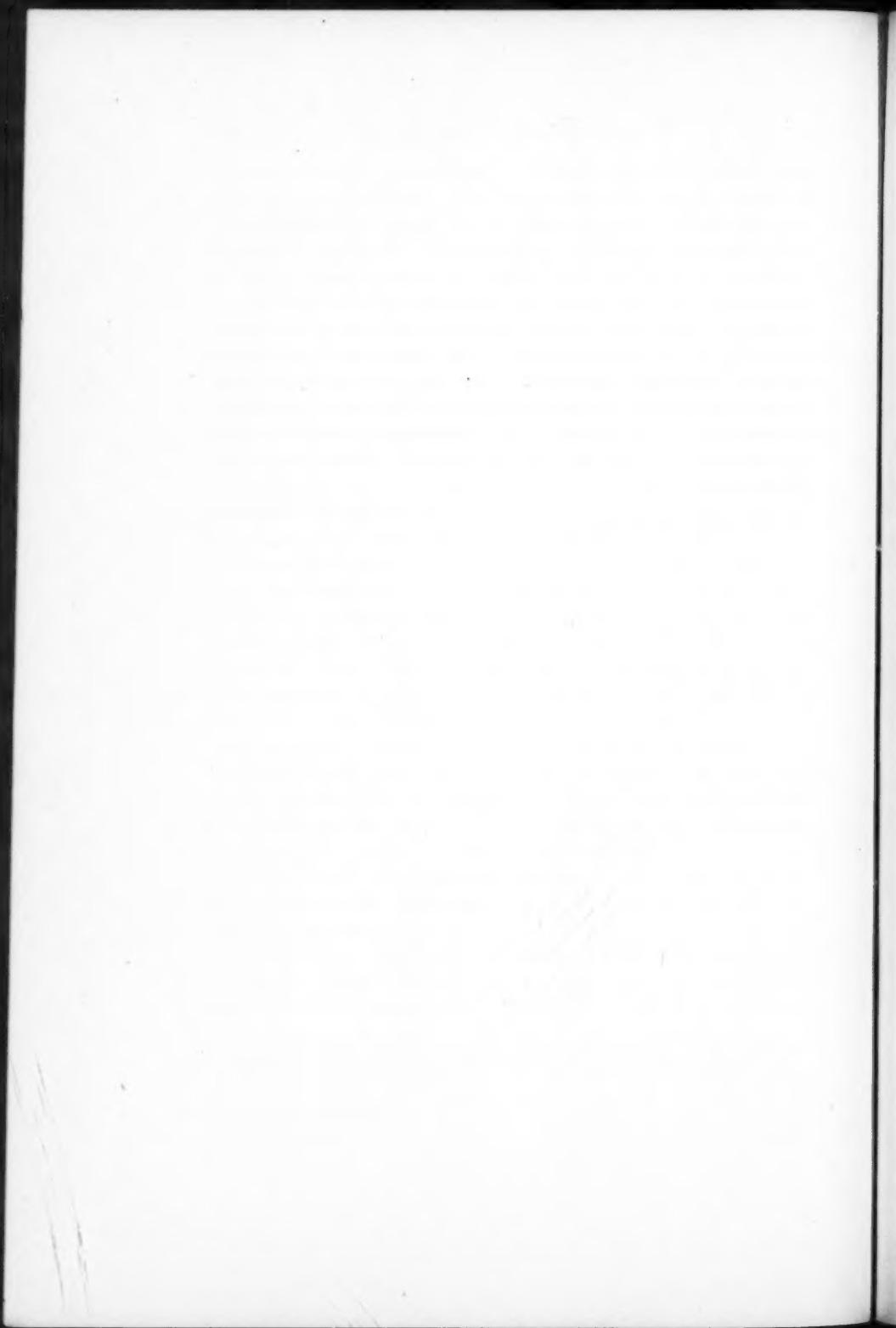
<sup>1</sup> "Alicie de Cestre et Margarete de Knyghtle, lotricibus Camere Regine Mapple et Vestimentorum Capelle Regis et Regine, Utrique earum pro feodo suo pro busca et omnibus pro tempore hulus compoti xxvjs viiiid Liij*s* iiijd" (Excheq. Accounts E 101, 396/2, p. 111).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 390/8, fo. 6vo.

Why can't he forget it? What does he know about it that justifies the insinuation that Chaucer was concerned in a criminal rape? I will not urge that in the absence of definite knowledge Chaucer is at least entitled to the more favorable interpretation of the record. I prefer to point out that neither Professor Tupper nor anyone else has produced any evidence that this incident lowered Chaucer in the esteem of his friends and acquaintances or embarrassed him in the publication of rhapsodies on pure and innocent love. The records of the affair indicate that it was either one of those illegal but not infrequent attempts at a forced marriage, like that on Chaucer's father, or an incident of unspeakable vileness, involving a criminal attack upon a girl by three supposedly respectable men. I see no reason to hesitate between the alternatives.

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## ON THE TRANSCRIPTION BY PETRARCH IN V.L. 3195

The first stage in the writing of V.L. 3195, the final MS of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, consisted in the transcription by a scribe of Nos. 1-120, the ballata *Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, and Nos. 122-78 and 180-90 in Part I, and Nos. 264-318 in Part II. The second stage consisted in the transcription by Petrarch, at various periods, of Nos. 121 (over erasure of the ballata above referred to), 179, and 191-263 in Part I, and Nos. 319-66 in Part II.<sup>1</sup>

Petrarch's own statement of his general habit of intermittent work during his transcription appears in a letter which he wrote to Pandolfo Malatesta on January 4, 1373, when sending him a copy of the *Canzoniere* in its then form. It is as follows:

Sunt apud me huius generis vulgarium adhuc multa, et vetustissimis schedulis, et sic senio exesis ut vix legi queant. E quibus, si quando unus aut alter dies otiosus affulserit, nunc unum nunc aliud elicere soleo, pro quodam quasi diverticulo laborum; sed perraro, ideoque mandavi quod utriusque in fine bona spatia linquerentur: et si quidquam occurret, mittam tibi reclusum nihilominus in papyro.<sup>2</sup>

In the present study I shall endeavor to trace as clearly as possible the order and the divisions of Petrarch's work in V.L. 3195; to explain incidentally a number of the peculiarities of the transcription; and to throw such general light as the course of the detailed study may yield upon the general process of the composition of the latter portions of each of the two parts of the *Canzoniere*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Vattasso, in *L'originale del Canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca, Codice Vaticano Latino 3195, riprodotto in fotopia a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Milan, 1905), pp. vii-viii. I refer to the poems by numbers corresponding to the order in which Petrarch finally desired that they should stand—that is, for Nos. 1-336 the order in which they actually stand in V.L. 3195, and for Nos. 337-66 the order indicated by a marginal numeration in that MS: see Vattasso, p. x.

<sup>2</sup> Var. ix, in Petrarch's *Epidotae de rebus familiaribus et variae* (ed. by G. Fracassetti), III (Florence, 1863), 323.

<sup>3</sup> The only previous study at all similar to the present one is contained in the essay of N. Quarta, "I codici V.L. 3195 e 3196," in his *Studi sul testo delle rime del Petrarca* (Naples, 1902), pp. 48-112. This study, excellent in some respects, utilizes only a limited portion of the evidence that should properly be considered. Its results, consequently, are not reliable, and are, in fact, incomplete and to a considerable degree incorrect: see the footnote in section VI and the second footnote in section VIII of the present study.

## I

The following tables afford a conspectus of information concerning the poems transcribed by Petrarch. Table I covers the poems which appear in Part I, Table II the poems which appear in Part II. The content of columns 2-15 is in each case as follows.

Column 2 indicates the page or pages of V.L. 3195 on which the poem stands. Absence of entry in this column means that the poem stands on the same page as the preceding poem.

Column 3 indicates the form of the poem. The letter b means *ballata*, c *canzone*, m madrigal, and s *sestina*. Absence of entry means that the poem in question is a sonnet.

Column 4 indicates the character of the ink as reported by Quarta;<sup>1</sup> column 5 the character of the ink as reported by Modigliani;<sup>2</sup> and column 6 the character of the ink as reported by Vattasso.<sup>3</sup> Quarta's term *verdino*, which appears frequently in column 4, is defined by him as follows: "Quando l'inchiostro nero è assai sbiadito, è quasi bianco, dà l'impressione d'un verdino. Chiamo quindi verdino questa gradazione d'inchiostro, che occorre di frequente negli autografi del P."<sup>4</sup> In column 6 the word *bruno* is to be understood in every case—except when the entry consists simply of the word *bruno*, which then means that in the cases concerned Vattasso uses the word *bruno* without any qualifying word or words.

Absence of entry in columns 4-9 and 13 means that the report is the same as for the preceding poem.

Column 7 indicates the character of the script as reported by Modigliani.<sup>5</sup> Modigliani distinguishes two types of script, the one small and regular, instanced in No. 198, the other larger and less regular, instanced in No. 199. He recognizes the fact that variations within these types exist, but does not distinguish these variations. These two types are designated, in the table, by the numerals I and II respectively.

Columns 8-12 contain the results of my own study of the script, based on the phototype reproduction of the MS.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 92-100.

<sup>2</sup> E. Modigliani, in *Francisci Petrarcae laureati poete Rerum vulgarium fragmenta* (Rome, 1904), p. xv, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> P. ix, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Op. cit., p. 70, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> Referred to above, in n. 1 to p. 261.

Column 8 contains notes on the size of the script, and column 9 on the spacing of the letters. In each case the type of writing illustrated in Nos. 191-93, which is in fact the commonest and a medium type with regard to both size and spacing, is taken as the reference type or standard; all poems which show essentially the same size of script or spacing of letters as these are classed as "standard" in the respect concerned, and all clearly perceptible variations from that type are noted. The abbreviation "sl." means "slightly," and "st." means "standard."

Column 10 makes note of the instances, few but significant, in which the lines, instead of being level, as they usually are, depart markedly from the level.

Column 11, unlike the other columns, has reference exclusively to the sonnets concerned, and makes note of the instances, few but significant, in which the graphic division of a sonnet into two blocks, one to the left and one to the right, is markedly imperfect. Petrarch writes two lines of a sonnet on each line of the MS. In general, he leaves a considerable space between the two members of each pair of lines, and begins the second line of the second and each later pair just below the beginning of the second line of the previous pair. Each sonnet so written appears, therefore, in two blocks, each consisting of seven hendecasyllables, and being even at the left-hand edge<sup>1</sup> and more or less uneven at the right-hand edge. The notes contained in column 11 concern, in particular, variations from Petrarch's normal usage in respect to the width of the space between the two blocks, or in respect to the regularity of the vertical line made by the left edge of the right block. The phrase "line broken" indicates that a hendecasyllable of the left block extends so far to the right as to break through the vertical edge of the right block.<sup>2</sup>

In column 12 the entry "ch." meaning "change," is made for every poem which appears to me, on inspection of the phototype reproduction of the MS, to be written in a script the difference of

<sup>1</sup> Except for the initial letter of the first line, which stands out alone to the left.

<sup>2</sup> Petrarch's graphic arrangement of the poems other than sonnets, though varying, is also such as to give more or less definitely the effect of two blocks (except in the *cansone* No. 360, which has three lines of the poem written continuously on each line of the MS). Such irregularities in respect to spacing or in respect to the left edge of the right block as occur in these poems are in general due to the heterometric character of the poems, and are not significant for our purposes (except for an irregularity occurring in the case of No. 121, which will be discussed below).

which from the script of the preceding poem is so marked as in itself to prove that a considerable amount of time elapsed, after the transcription of that preceding poem, before the transcription of the poem for which the entry is made.

Column 13 indicates the character of the initial letter of the poem, as reported by Vattasso.<sup>1</sup>

Column 14 presents such groupings in respect to content as are formally recognized by Cochin.<sup>2</sup> The form of the entry in each case is intended to suggest the common element of the poems in question. P stands for Petrarch, L for Laura.

Column 15 contains miscellaneous remarks. The statements as to V.L. 3196, including the statements as to dates of transcription, which are based on notations in that MS, are derived from Appel.<sup>3</sup> The other statements, unless indication to the contrary is given, are derived from Vattasso.

In Table II the poems are listed in the order in which they actually stand in V.L. 3195, except that those contained in the inserted *duernione*, ff. 67-70,<sup>4</sup> are placed last.

## II

Certain considerations bearing on the problem of the definition of periods of transcription are now in order.

Among the last poems transcribed by the scribe in Part I stands one poem, No. 179, transcribed by Petrarch himself. The transcription of Nos. 180-90 does not differ in respect to script or ink from that of the poems which immediately precede No. 179, and there is no reason to think that the transcription of Nos. 180-90 was not continuous, in point of time, to that of the poems which immediately precede No. 179. It would appear, therefore, that when the scribe had finished the transcription of No. 178 he was under orders from Petrarch to leave blank the space for a sonnet. This has its importance for our problem, for it shows it to be possible that in the portion of V.L. 3195 transcribed by Petrarch he left a space blank now and then with the intention of filling it later.

<sup>1</sup> P. viii.

<sup>2</sup> H. Cochin, *la Chronologie du Cansoniere de Petrarch*, Paris, 1898.

<sup>3</sup> C. Appel, *Zur Entwicklung italienischer Dichtungen Petrarchas*, Halle, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> See Vattasso, p. viii.



TABLE I

TABLE II

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Poem	Page	Form	Quarta on Ink	Modigliani on Ink	Vattimo on Ink	Modigliani on Script	Size of Script	Spacing	Notes as to Levelness	Notes as to Right Block	Marked Changes in Script	Initial	Cochin on Groups	Remarks	Poem
319 320	62r	c	<i>rossastro</i>	=scribe	=318	I	st.	st.			red blue	return to Vau-	in V.L. 3196	319 320	
321 322 323	62v 62v-63r	c	<i>nero meno sbiadito</i> <i>nero sbiadito</i>	<i>moltò più pallido</i> =scribe	-giallo bruno		sl. smaller st. sl. smaller	sl. closer st. sl. closer			red dark ink	cluse "	in V.L. 3196	321 322 323	
324	63r	b						st.							
325 326 327 328	63v-64r 64v	c	<i>rossastro particolare</i>	<i>più cupo, quasi nero</i> =scribe	<i>carico</i> bruno	II	st.			space small; line broken once space small; line slopes slightly	ch.		grief memories of last sight of L	transcribed on Oct. 31, 1368	324 325 326 327 328
329								sl. thicker					"		329
330 331	65r 65r-v	c	<i>nero sbiadito</i> <i>quasi verdino</i>			I	st.				ch.				330 331
332 333 334 335	65v-66r 66r	s									ch.	ink as in the <i>dernione</i>			332 333 334 335
336										space small; line broken once space small space somewhat wider =355 space wider space small					336
350 355 351 352 354 353 366	71r 71v-72v	c	<i>id. più sbiadito</i>	<i>un poco più chiaro</i> <i>meno bruno e un poco</i> <i>più tendente al</i> <i>giallo</i>	<i>leggermente pallido</i> bruno	I	sl. thinner st.	sl. smaller			ch.	dark ink			350 355 351 352 354 353 366
337	67r		<i>verdino più debole</i>	<i>giallolino pallido</i>	<i>pallido tendente al</i> verde	II	sl. larger than st.				ink as in the poem			this and the remaining poems occupy the inserted <i>dernione</i>	337
338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365	67v 68r 68v 69r 69v-70r 70r 70v	c					st. sl. larger						vision " " " companion to 345 " 344		338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365
			<i>più forte</i> <i>verdino più debole</i>					smaller than st. sl. larger than st. st.	sl. closer st.	line broken once	ch. ch.		part of a prayer part of same prayer		



In general, marked change in script or in ink indicates that the poem in the new script or ink was transcribed in a period later than that in which the preceding poem was transcribed. If, however, in any three successive poems the script and ink of the second differ from those of the first, and the script and ink of the third are identical with those of the first, it is at least possible that the third was transcribed in the same period as the first, and that the second was transcribed later. Such is clearly the case if the second stands over an erasure. That it may well be the case even if the second does not stand over an erasure is indicated by the instance of No. 179, referred to above.

If there is no change in script, and the change in ink consists simply in its being somewhat lighter or somewhat darker, it is perfectly possible that the change is due simply to a thinning or a thickening of the ink while the transcription was in process, or to an incidental change in firmness in the transcribing hand. Such a change, therefore, does not necessarily indicate a change in the period of transcription.

In a series of poems written continuously, there would be a tendency for the script to grow larger and less careful toward the end of the series—not only because of the natural tendency toward relaxation in care as such work progresses, but because of the tendency of ink to thicken and of a pen to lose its fineness. It is therefore clear that a diminution in size and an increase in carefulness are more indicative of a new period of transcription than a corresponding increase in size and decrease in carefulness.

Petrarch certainly regarded his *canzoni* and *sestine* as poems of a type distinctly other than and higher than the sonnet type. It is probable that in the sheets which contained the working copies of his poems the *canzoni* and *sestine* were in general separated from the sonnets. This is the case in V.L. 3196; and the general tendency to separate *canzoni* from sonnets is illustrated both in the great MS collections of thirteenth-century lyrics, and in many MSS of the *Canzoniere* itself. Petrarch's mingling of longer and shorter poems in the *Canzoniere* is indeed an innovation of great significance. There is obvious, in the portion of V.L. 3195 transcribed by Petrarch, a general tendency toward the transcription of *canzoni* and *sestine* with special

care. It follows that a slight refinement in script as Petrarch comes to the transcription of a *canzone* or a *sestina* does not necessarily indicate a change in the period of transcription.

### III

The question of the initials deserves special study.

The scribe, in the portion of the MS transcribed by him, entered tiny guides in the margins for the direction of the illuminator who should later put in the red and blue initials. When Petrarch started his work he at first put in some such guides. They are still visible in the cases of Nos. 194-97: none are visible in the cases of Nos. 191-93, 198, 199, and 319-21; but it is possible, in these cases, that they were entered and later covered by the colored initials.<sup>1</sup>

The red and blue initials stop with No. 199 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II. There are no guides beyond these points, and the initials of the later poems are in ink and in the hand of Petrarch.

Nos. 121 and 199 offer special problems. No. 121, the madrigal *Or vedi amor che giovenetta donna*, was transcribed by Petrarch over erasure of the ballata *Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, as has been said. Examination of the initial O of the madrigal shows roughness and irregularity at just those two points on the left where projections would appear if the initial were a D. It is then obvious that this O was obtained by removal of portions of an original initial D. Evidence to be presented in section IV of this paper will indicate that the substitution of the madrigal for the ballata took place at a relatively late period of Petrarch's work—long after the illuminator had stopped his task. It is then obvious that the change of the D to the O was made by Petrarch himself at the time when he substituted the madrigal for the ballata.

The initial O of No. 199 proves, on inspection, to be quite different from all the other O's of the MS. It is carefully done; the central space is even about a vertical axis; and the sides are even and regular. The initial O's of previous poems—for instance, Nos. 146, 158, 161, 164, and 172—are more cursive; the axis of the central space is not

<sup>1</sup> For the material of this sentence and for information on certain other points referred to below I am indebted to the great kindness of my colleague Professor B. L. Ullman, who examined the MS for me in the autumn of 1925, and reported his results in letters dated Nov. 6 and 21, 1925.

quite vertical, but slopes down from left to right; and the sides are not perfectly regular. The right side is characteristically marked at the top by a sudden outward bulge. The inference is clear that the initial of No. 199 was done as a separate piece of work, and not as part of the same task which included the other initials. Evidence to be presented in section IV of this paper will indicate that No. 199 (like No. 179) is an inset, transcribed by Petrarch in the same period in which he substituted No. 121 for the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, long after he had transcribed the poems which immediately follow No. 199, and long after the illuminator had stopped his work. It is then obvious that the initial O of No. 199 was done by Petrarch himself at the time when he transcribed the poem. The fact that he was interested at the same time in the colored initial of No. 121 and the fact that No. 199, as he filled it in, stood immediately after the last poem then having a colored initial account sufficiently for Petrarch's putting in a colored initial in this one case.

It would appear from the foregoing considerations that the work of the illuminator was done at a time when the MS contained 198 poems in Part I, the 121st being the *ballata Donna mi vene spesso nella mente*, and Nos. 264-321 in Part II. The only reasonable alternative to this inference, so far as I can see, lies in the possibility that the MS was put in the hands of the illuminator not then, but at a later time when additional poems appeared in the MS, and that the illuminator stopped his work with No. 198 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II because these were the last two poems for which he found guides. The former alternative is clearly the more probable. In either case it is apparent that a considerable interval in the transcription followed the entry of No. 198 in Part I and No. 321 in Part II; for a discontinuance of guides in both Parts I and II would indicate a notable change in habit.

The story<sup>1</sup> of the ink initials which appear in the rest of the MS is clearly as follows. During the transcription of the portion of Part I ending with No. 255, and of the portion of Part II extending to the end of the MS as it was before the insertion of the *duernione*, Petrarch did not put in the initials of the poems as he transcribed them—

<sup>1</sup> Already told in part by Quarta, p. 94, and Vattasso, p. viii, n. 6; and much more fully by Ruth S. Phelps, *The Earlier and Later Forms of Petrarch's Canzoniere* (Chicago, 1925), pp. 201-3.

evidently because he intended to have them done by an illuminator or to do them himself.

When he wrote the *duernione*, however, he entered the initial in each case as he wrote the poem—thus evidently abandoning the plan of having red and blue initials. Why he abandoned the plan we can only guess. Probably he did not feel disposed to undertake the unfamiliar task of entering the colored initials himself. Perhaps he had found his work on the initial of No. 199 too laborious, or unsatisfactory in some respect. Very probably, when he had reached this point, he had no one in his own employ who could do the initials, and did not care to send the MS away to a professional illuminator.

After inserting the *duernione* he proceeded to enter in ink the initials of all the poems already in the MS which still lacked initials. First, using the same ink which he had used during the writing of the *duernione*, he put in the initials of the poems on the two pages between which the *duernione* was inserted—f. 66v, containing Nos. 335, 336, 350, and 355; and f. 71r, containing Nos. 351, 352, 354, and 353. At a later time he entered in a dark ink the initials of all the remaining poems then in the MS which still lacked initials, namely, Nos. 200–255 in Part I, and Nos. 322–34 and 366 in Part II.

As he entered the few remaining poems in Part I, Nos. 256–63, he entered the initial in each case as he wrote the poem.

It is then clear that a considerable interval in transcription followed the entry of No. 255 in Part I and the completion of all of Part II except the *duernione*.

While it would seem a priori probable that the entry of the initials for Nos. 200–255, 322–34, and 366 preceded the transcription of the whole poem No. 256, it is obviously not impossible that these initials were entered at a later time, after the transcription of one or more of the poems Nos. 256–63; and evidence to be presented at the end of section V of this study will indicate that this was in fact the case.

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(*To be concluded*)

## JUGGLING TRICKS AND CONJURY ON THE ENGLISH STAGE BEFORE 1642

In the numerous discussions of Elizabethan stagecraft, the tricks that stage players learned from jugglers and conjurors have received little attention, despite an obvious debt which many Elizabethan plays owe to these humble entertainments. A study of juggling and conjury in relation to the theater explains many apparent crudities of the early stage; to tricks of the juggler and a popular demand for such exhibitions can be traced in many instances spectacular Elizabethan realism. The Elizabethan delighted in the dexterity of the juggler and the supernatural mysteriousness of the conjuror; playwrights and producers appeased the popular appetite for shows and spectacles by inserting juggling and conjuring acts into play performances, frequently without regard for dramatic structure or plot requirements.

It is the purpose of this paper to point out instances in English drama before 1642 of the use of legerdemain, tricks of sleight, and elaborate spectacles of conjury. In most of these exhibitions, the interest is primarily in the spectacular element; in many cases, the juggling and conjuring scenes are purely extraneous; in some instances, the performances aid in plot advancement but are over emphasized for the sake of the spectacle. The same interest which still attracts crowds to vaudeville performances of a "magician" led to the insertion of similar performances in Elizabethan and pre-Elizabethan plays. Indeed, it is probable that realistic scenes of bloodletting, bodily injury, and stage executions often derive from tricks common to the repertoire of the ordinary juggler.

The art of jugglery or legerdemain early reached a high degree of perfection; the tricks included sword-playing, juggling with coins and balls, illusions of various sorts, mind-reading, and other exhibitions so marvelous that suspicion of black art at times fell upon jugglers and conjurors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1584 Reginald Scot published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* to disprove supernatural elements of witchcraft by exposing, along with other things, the tricks of jugglers and conjurors. His work furnishes a valuable source of information about the methods of Elizabethan magicians and conjurors.

Interest in legerdemain was not new in Elizabethan England. Chaucer shows considerable interest in jugglery; cf. *The Frankeleyns Tale*, ll. 455 ff., and *The Hous of Fame*, ll. 186 ff.

Elizabethan England was deeply interested in magic of all sorts, and it was only natural that the theater should reflect this interest in spectacles of legerdemain and conjury. It is fairly certain that much extraneous entertainment was inserted in play performances which was omitted from the printed texts. Ample evidence remains, however, of the insertion of juggling scenes. An indication that some plays had such shows is contained in the denial by the Prologue of any jugglery in *Summer's Last Will and Testament*: "Such odd trifles as mathematicians' experiments be artificial flies to hang in the air by themselves, dancing balls, an egg-shell that shall climb up to the top of a spear, fiery-breathing gores, poeta professeth not to make."<sup>1</sup>

Apparently the clown in the early drama sometimes played the rôle of juggler. In the intermean at the end of Act II of Jonson's *Staple of News*, Tattle wishes for a vice with a wooden dagger; Mirth replies: "That was the old way, gossip, when Iniquity came in like Hokos Pokos, in a jugler's jerkin, with false skirts, like a knave of clubs." In a prose tract, *A Knights Coniuring*, Dekker alludes to the stage-devil's trick of spitting fire and brimstone.<sup>2</sup> The same author in *The Wonder of a Kingdome* says that Baptista

Has blackt his beard like a Comoedian  
To play the Mountibanke, . . .<sup>3</sup>

A reference to the use of legerdemain in plays occurs in a pamphlet, *Mr. William Prynne his Defence of Stage Plays, or a Retraction of a former Book of his called Histrio-Mastix* (1649):

And whereas divers objections have been made against Stage-players, for that many of them are profane, many of them have swearing and blaspheming in them, many of them have cozening, cheating, legerdemain, fraud, deceit, jugglings, impostures and other lewd things which may teach young people evil things," . . .<sup>4</sup>

Jugglers and mountebanks were often serious rivals of stage plays. Speaking of a mountebank, Clotpoll, in Brome's *Covent Garden Weeded*, says: "And then again, he drew such flocks of idle people to him that the Players, they say, curst him abominably."<sup>5</sup> During the reign of

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt, *Dodoley*, VIII, 18.

<sup>2</sup> "Percy Society Publications," V, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Act III, scene i.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Hazlitt (ed.), *The English Drama and Stage* (Roxburghe Library; London, 1869), p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Act I, scene i.

James, a juggler called "Hocus Pocus" created widespread interest. Jonson, in *The Magnetic Lady*, makes the Boy wish for him.<sup>1</sup> "Hocus Pocus" became the generic name for legerdemain performers. In 1638 at Coventry an entry was made of the appearance of the "Kings Players and hocus pocus."<sup>2</sup> Evidently the actors found that their audiences were increased by this added attraction.

The Induction to *Bartholomew Fair* enumerates a number of extraneous attractions, among them the performance of a juggler with an ape, which the Stage-Keeper claims some dramatists would have inserted. The Stage-Keeper is regretful that the poet has not included these sights, and declares it was different in the days of Tarlton.

In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, the citizen's wife orders the boy to dance and then asks if he can tumble and eat fire.<sup>3</sup> What is the point of this unless fire-eaters and tumblers had been seen in plays?

The rôle of magician was one of the stock parts in *commedia dell'arte* performances by Italian players in England, and tricks of magic frequently enlivened a dragging play on the fully developed Elizabethan stage. Enough examples have been preserved in the texts of plays to show that tricks of sleight, jugglery, and the more intricate wonders of magic were a definite part of the variety show entertainments offered in the course of regular play production before 1642.

Scenes of juggling in plays date back to the religious drama. It is true that the Mystery plays were performed by non-professional players who would not be expected to have great skill in jugglery, but there seems to be evidence that jugglers were pressed into service in the rivalry between guilds. Indeed, the guild accounts show numerous records of the employment of minstrels, and minstrels by the time of the Mystery plays had degenerated into variety entertainers who could often do tricks of jugglery as well as furnish music.

Evidence in the Towneley play of *Pharaoh* seems to indicate that Moses employed tricks of legerdemain in his appearance before

<sup>1</sup> In the intermean at the end of Act I, the Boy says: "Do they think this pen can juggle? I would we had Hokos-pokos for 'em then, your people; or Travitanto Tudesco."

<sup>2</sup> John Tucker Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642* (London, 1910), II, 253.

<sup>3</sup> Act III, scene v. Fire-eaters were common. Sir Henry Wotton mentions a fire-eating performance in 1633. Evelyn described a similar exhibition in 1672. These examples of legerdemain are mentioned by H. Houdini, *Miracle-Mongers and Their Methods* (New York, 1920), p. 17.

Pharaoh. Moses comes into Pharaoh's presence with a wand, the sign of conjurors since classical antiquity; he is accompanied by two boys, his assistants, when he turns his wand into a serpent, and he uses the very language of conjury. Deus draws attention to the wand by commanding Moses to turn it into a serpent before the king and to take it by "the tayle again in hand" to change it back into a wand.<sup>1</sup> Whether the player of Moses' rôle actually performed this trick of sleight cannot be proved, but spectators accustomed to marvelous tricks of jugglery would hardly have been satisfied with any thing less than an actual exhibition of the trick. Thomas Ady in 1656 describes methods for performing such tricks<sup>2</sup> and remarks that all the tricks done by Pharaoh's magicians could be done by any common juggler, who found it no difficulty to turn a bowl of water into blood, to multiply frogs, or "with slight of hand to throw down an artificial Serpent instead of his stiffe, and convey away his stiffe, that so they might think his stiffe was turned into a Serpent, for these Histories are set down according to the apprehension of the deceived beholders, etc." The tricks were old in Ady's day, and with little doubt were among the most interesting features of this particular Mystery play. In the York *Departure of the Israelites from Egypt*, Moses shows similar evidence of jugglery.<sup>3</sup>

The interest in conjury is apparent in the night spell said by Mak in the Towneley *Second Shepherds' Play* in which Mak draws a circle and says the spell in conjuring terms.<sup>4</sup> Anti-Christ in the Chester *Coming of Anti-Christ* is a sorcerer who does tricks of "maistery," raises the dead, dies himself, and comes to life again. How elaborate these tricks were, it is impossible to tell from the text, but apparently some of the tricks of hypnotism were employed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The significant portion of this play comes in ll. 88-261. Moses approaches Pharaoh, accompanied by the two boys, and changes the wand into a serpent:

"heere I lay it downe;  
lo, syr, here may thou se the same."

He changes the serpent back into a wand:

"Then he sayde, wythouten fayll,  
hyt shuld turne to a wand agayn.  
lo, sir, behold."

Pharaoh determines to keep the boys and refers to Moses as a "sotell swayn."

<sup>2</sup> *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1656), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 241 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 278 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 65 ff., 132 ff., 410 ff., 610 ff. Reginald Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxx, describes tricks of hypnotism employed by conjurors and jugglers.

The morality, *Mankind*, has a reference to a decapitation trick, apparently similar to one described with diagrams by Scot.<sup>1</sup> This may be merely a reference to the tricks of jugglers and not an indication of the performance of the trick in the play. Myscheff boasts that he can smite off a head and put it on again: "I kan choppe yt of, & make yt agayn." New-Gyse immediately after remarks that he has "a schreude recumbentibus, but I fele no peyn." Now-A-Days comments: "And my hede ys all sauē & holl agayn."<sup>2</sup> If the trick was not performed by these three rascals, it is certainly a reference to such exhibitions. It is certain that decapitations took place in connection with certain execution scenes to be mentioned later.

In the moralities and interludes which follow *Mankind* indications of jugglery become more specific. Skelton's *Magnificence* presents an imitation of a juggling trick for the sake of clownery; Folly boasts that he can do "mastryes," and then goes through the motions of juggling a louse from Crafty Conveyance's coat.<sup>3</sup>

Elaborate tricks of legerdemain are used in *All for Money*. The stage was arranged in advance. When Arte, Science, and Theology leave the stage, Money enters in accordance with the directions:

These three going out, Money commeth in, hauing the one halfe of his gowne yellowe, and the other white, hauing the coyne of siluer and golde painted vpon it, and there must be a chayre for him to sit in, and vnder it or neere the same place there must be some hollowe place for one to come vp in.

Money takes his seat and "faineth himselfe to be sicke." Adulation calls for Mischievous Help, and they assist Money in his juggling trick. Money says:

Now I will assaye to vomitte if I can,  
Therefore either of you play now the pretie man.

The two helpers hold his head and his stomach while Money vomits Pleasure in accordance with the directions: "Here money shal make as though he would vomit, and with some fine conueyance pleasure shal appeare from beneath, and lie there appalled." Sinne is brought forth in the same way, and Damnation is likewise born of Sinne with much travail and calling attention to the trick.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. 33.

<sup>2</sup> LL. 450-505.

<sup>3</sup> LL. 1191-96.

<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare Jahrbuch, XL (1904), 151-52, ll. 202 ff.

The art of the juggler was not overlooked in *Cambyses* in the effort to increase delight in execution scenes. Cambyses orders Sisamnes to be flayed alive on the stage, obviously a rather difficult procedure without some trickery, but the stage directions make the manner of flaying quite clear: "Flays him with a false skin."<sup>1</sup> Such representations were regularly a part of the juggler's repertoire, along with beheadings and thrusting of weapons into the body. Cambyses comes in with a sword sticking in his side: "Enter the King without a gown, a sword thrust up into his side bleeding."<sup>2</sup> Note that he comes in without a gown to show that the sword is actually sticking in his side from which the blood drops. Explanation of the realistic bleeding occurs in the direction, "A little bladder of vinegar pricked."<sup>3</sup>

Hieronimo gives an example of a juggler's trick in *The Spanish Tragedy*. When the king tries to extract from him an account of the slaying of Balthazar and Lorenzo, he bites out his tongue and offers it to the king.<sup>4</sup> Some simple trick of sleight accomplished this stage business.

Conjury is employed extensively for spectacular effect in *A Looking Glass for London and England*. Magi raise an arbor out of the ground. Priests enter, "carrying fire in their hands," and "a hand from out a cloud threatens with a burning sword."<sup>5</sup>

Interest in magic was keen throughout the Elizabethan period; scenes in drama showing the feats of magicians were drawn out and exaggerated for the pleasure they afforded. The magic motif is skilfully employed in *Doctor Faustus*, but not every play using magic so skilfully weaves it into the plot. Even in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* some of the scenes give the impression of detached shows. Perhaps ventriloquism was used to make the brazen head speak.<sup>6</sup> Greene again uses the brazen head and magic in *The History of*

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt, *op. cit.*, IV, 199.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217. Tricks of weapon-thrusting were common. Scot, *op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxxiii, furnishes diagrams to show how they were performed. He describes a method "to thrust a dagger or bodkin into your guts very strongly and to recover immediately."

<sup>4</sup> IV, iv, 194: "First take my tongue, and afterwards my heart. (*He bites out his tongue*)."

<sup>5</sup> II, scene i and IV, scene iii. These scenes are almost purely masque. A study of jugglery and conjury in masques would make the subject too large for adequate treatment here.

<sup>6</sup> Act IV, scene i. Seeming to indicate that ventriloquism was used instead of an actor inside the head is the fact that "a hand appears that breaks down the Head with a hammer."

*Alphonsus, King of Aragon* more for spectacle than for dramatic value.<sup>1</sup> The contemporary audience must have looked on the conjury even in such burlesques as *The Old Wife's Tale*<sup>2</sup> and *John a Kent and John a Cumber* with keen delight for the spectacles themselves.

Jugglers' tricks, similar to those in *Cambyses*, were evidently employed in *Edward I*. In the torture of Longshanks, the directions are: "Meredith stabs him into the armes and shoulders"; "He shewes him hot pinchers"; and then, "He cuts his nose."<sup>3</sup> Such tricks of piercing the body with sharp instruments were among the commonest of jugglers' performances.

Jugglery is employed in *George a Greene, the Pinner of Wakefield* in the scene in which George tears up the commission and makes Mannering eat it. He holds up the seals to the audience and then orders Mannering to swallow them:

MANNERING: Well, and there be no remedie, so George.

(*Swallows one of the seals.*)

One i — e. I pray thee, no more nowe.

GEORGE: O sir, if o — e be good, the others cannot hurt.

(*Mannering swallows the other seals.*)<sup>4</sup>

Only an iron-stomached actor could have swallowed the seals without some trick of sleight. Later the clown burlesques a juggler in producing George's sweetheart by casting a gown into a circle and drawing out the girl.

From the period in which Shakespeare began to write for the stage until the closing of the theaters, tricks of jugglers and conjurors continued to hold an important place on the stage. Shakespeare himself employed spectacular effects of magic on several occasions. In the second part of *Henry VI*, a play in which Shakespeare might have had a hand, the conjuring of Margery Jourdain and Bolingbroke is considerably emphasized.<sup>5</sup>

Tricks of jugglery are without doubt employed in *Titus Andronicus* to add to the bloody spectacle. In Act III, scene i, Aaron cuts off Titus' hand; the latter is all the while in full view on the stage.

<sup>1</sup> Act III, scene ii; Act IV, scene i.

<sup>2</sup> Note particularly ll. 574 ff., ll. 655 ff., and ll. 804 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Malone Society Reprints*, D illi, verso.

<sup>4</sup> ll. 130 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Act I, scene iv.

Throat-cutting and the catching of blood in a basin in Act V, scene ii, furnish realistic diversion for a blood-loving audience.<sup>1</sup> Any actor, with a little preparation, could perform these simple tricks of the juggler.

To their contemporaries, the witches in *Macbeth* no doubt served the double purpose of extraneous entertainment and dramatic atmosphere. Throughout *The Tempest* Prospero appears in the rôle of a magician with Ariel as his assistant. In one scene, at least, there appears to have been a trick of legerdemain by Ariel, who makes a banquet disappear.<sup>2</sup>

Simple tricks with cards and dice by the clowns in *Nobody and Somebody*, immediately following a wrestling match, furnish part of the extraneous diversion in this play. Just what tricks were performed is not quite clear, but the clowns juggle the dice, cut the cards, and talk about tricks with cards.<sup>3</sup> Probably the tricks varied with the performance. This was one of the plays by English comedians that found favor in Germany because of its varied entertainment.

A juggler entertains the audience before the play opens in *Wily Beguiled*. As the Prologue is about to speak his part, the juggler asks: "Will you see any tricks of legerdemain, sleight of hand, cleanly conveyance, or *deception visus*?" What will you see, gentlemen, to drive you out of these dumps?" The Prologue bids the juggler be gone, but the latter stays, recites his accomplishments, and performs the trick of making the title-board disappear and another stand in its place:

Marry, sir, I will show you a trick of cleanly conveyance—*Hei, fortuna furim nunquam credo*—with a cast of cleanly conveyance. Come aloft, Jack, for thy master's advantage. He's gone, I warrant ye. [*Spectrum* is conveyed away, and *Wily Beguiled* stands in the place of it].

A feat of magic requiring considerable skill occurs in *Grim the Collier of Croydon* when St. Dunstan's harp is made to sound on the

<sup>1</sup> The directions for the scene are: "Re-enter Titus, with Lavinia; he bearing a knife, and she a basin"; a little later, "He cuts their throats." Titus cuts the throats of Chiron and Demetrius; Lavinia catches their blood in the basin.

<sup>2</sup> In Act III, scene iii, the direction is: "Thunder and lightning. Enter Ariel, like a harpy; clasps his wings upon the table; and with a quaint device, the banquet vanishes." A little later is another direction: "He vanishes in thunder; then, to soft music, enter Shapes again, and dance, with mocks and mows, and carrying out the table." All of this was mere spectacle to please an audience demanding elaborate displays.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Simpson (ed.), *The School of Shakespeare* (New York, 1878), I, 336-39.

wall without being touched. The direction says, "Dunstan's harp sounds on the wall," and Forrest calls attention to the feat:

Hark, hark, my lord! the holy abbot's harp  
Sounds by itself so hanging on the wall!

The art of the juggler is called on to help furnish two spectacles of mutilation in *Two Lamentable Tragedies*. In Act II, scene i, a hammer is left sticking in the head of one of the victims. The stage directions are: "When the boy goeth into the shoppe Merrie striketh six blowes on his head & with the seaventh leaves the hammer sticking in his head; the boy groaning must be heard by a maide, . . ." A neighbor comes in and reminds the audience of the hammer. This triumph of realism was even further improved in Act II, scene vi, by an illusion of the mutilation of Beech's body.

A play that illustrates the lust for spectacle and conjuring shows is *The Devil's Charter*. In addition to the legitimate use of magic for the sake of atmosphere and dramatic motive, scenes of conjury and deviltry are greatly emphasized. Pope Alexander is presented as a master of the black art. A conjuring monk calls up a spectacle of sulphurous smoke and devils; Alexander conjures up a king riding upon a lion or dragon;<sup>2</sup> the last scene is filled with devil play and thunder. The chief interest in the play lies in the spectacular scenes of horror called up through the machinery of conjury.

A play that depends upon a similar interest in conjury, devil play, and clownery is *The Birth of Merlin*. A Saxon magician calls up Hector and Achilles to fight.<sup>3</sup> Act V begins with a scene of pure vaudeville in which the old trick of finding coins and taking coins from another's pocket is staged; Merlin and his "little antick Spirit" mystify the clown and the audience with this legerdemain.<sup>4</sup> In the same act Merlin calls up fight between a white and a red dragon.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Act II, scene i.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> Act II.

<sup>4</sup> Merlin asks the clown why he searches his pockets; the latter replies: "I do feel a fault of one side, either it was that Sparrow-hawk, or a cast of Merlins, for I finde a covy of Cardecu's sprung out of my pocket." The juggler restores the money but takes it a second time from the clown who says as he reaches for the money he thinks is in his pocket: "Yes, my little juggler, I dare show it, ha, cleanly conveyance agen, ye have no invisible fingers have ye? 'Tis gone certainly."

<sup>5</sup> Spectacle in which the miraculous was simulated was one of the most popular of the stage tricks learned from the juggler. In the temple scene in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Act V, scene i), a hind is made to vanish under the altar, and in its place a rose tree ascends. In a few minutes "is heard a sodain twang of Instruments, and the Rose falls from the Tree."

Near the end of Act IV, Merlin charms the too talkative clown so that he can only say, "Hum, hum, hum." Such scenes of mixed jugglery, devil play, and clownery made the old play a favorite with the populace.

That devil play and conjury were sufficient to make a good play is the statement of the Prologue to *The Two Merry Milkmaids*:

. . . 'Tis a fine Play:  
For we have in 't a Coniurer, a Devill,  
And a Clowne too, . . .

Much of the interest in this comedy depends upon the more or less extraneous conjuring of Bernard and Landoffe, and the buffoonery of the clown, Smirke. By conjury the latter is made invisible and goes about the stage kicking his enemies, kissing the women, and engaging in buffoonery of all sorts.<sup>1</sup> Certainly the conjuror was a favorite performer with the populace; he took rank with the clown and devil; the uncritical crowd cared little about the dramatic requirements of the play; they wanted to see the conjuror's spectacles, extraneous or otherwise, and they agreed with the Prologue to *The Two Merry Milkmaids* that it was a good play when it had these performances.

The use of fireworks to furnish spectacles on the stage was a trick learned from the juggler; in both medieval and Elizabethan drama, players made use of fireworks to entertain their audiences. The fires of Hell-Mouth gave way before more elaborate spectacles, but the same type of entertainment persisted among other stage devices. One of the simplest uses of fireworks is referred to in *Women Beware Women*: ". . . Here rose up a devil with one eye, I remember, with a company of fireworks at's tail."<sup>2</sup> In *The Triumph of Death*, Plutus furnishes a spectacle by striking a rock from which flames fly out.<sup>3</sup> In Kirke's *Seven Champions of Christendom*, spirits fight with fiery clubs<sup>4</sup> Dekker's *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil Is In It* has several

<sup>1</sup> Act IV, scene i. Jonson (*The Staple of News*, Act I, scene ii) makes Tattle lament the lack of a fool and devil in the play; Mirth informs her that she had heard that the poet was profane "and all his plays had devils in them; that he kept school upon the stage, could conjure there above the school of Westminster, and doctor Lamb too: not a play he had but had a devil in it."

<sup>2</sup> Act V, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> From *Four Plays in One*; no act division.

<sup>4</sup> Act III; no scene division.

exhibitions of tricks with fireworks that lend nothing to the play except extraneous spectacle. At one point Ruffman announces:

. . . You shall see  
At opening this hand, a thousand Balles  
Of wilde-Fire, flying round about the aire—there.  
(*Fire-workes on Lines.*)<sup>1</sup>

Later in the play a direction indicates another display of fireworks: "Fireworkes: Scumbroath falls."<sup>2</sup> In the closing devil scene, Ravillac has his hand burned off before the audience.<sup>3</sup> These and other spectacles show Dekker's willingness to draw crowds to the playhouse by sensational displays that had little relation to the structure of the drama itself.

Thomas Heywood, surpassing even Dekker in his willingness to supply sensational exhibitions, employs fireworks extensively in his *Age* plays to thrill the crowd that packed the pit. The last act of *The Silver Age* is a series of spectacles. Jupiter descends "in his maiesty, his Thunder-bolt burning." When he touches the bed of Semele, "it fires, and flyes up, Iupiter from thence takes an abortive infant." Another great display of fireworks occurs when Hercules invades Hell. Heywood varies this scene by having fireworks shot off among the spectators, all over the theater, as the directions indicate:

Hercules sinkes himself: Flashes of fire; the Divels appeare at every corner of the stage with severall fireworks. The Judges of hell, and the three sisters run over the stage, Hercules after them: fireworkes all over the house. Enter Hercules.<sup>4</sup>

Pluto shortly afterward comes in with a burning club, wearing a burning crown, attended by a bodyguard of devils bearing burning weapons. The entire scene is of spectacular entertainment, precisely the sort of thing which would have most appealed to the uncritical Red Bull audience for whom the play was written.

Heywood again plays the juggler's game to the utmost in *The Brazen Age* which is filled with spectacle similar to that in *The Silver Age*. In the last act, Hercules caps the climax of wonder by allowing

<sup>1</sup> *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker Now First Collected* (London, 1873), III, 294. J. White (*A Rich Cabinet with Variety of Inventions, etc.* [1651]) tells "how to make your fireworks to run upon a line backward and forward."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.

<sup>4</sup> *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood Now First Collected* (London, 1874), III, 154-55.

a fire to be built around him on the stage. Before taking his place in the flames, he burns his club and lion's skin to prove that the fire will really burn.<sup>1</sup>

Tapers that light themselves must have mystified the spectators of Middleton's *Game at Chess*. An altar is discovered bearing unlighted tapers; after a conjuring song, the tapers take light of themselves and move in a dance.<sup>2</sup>

Jonson employs the tricks of the juggler in satirizing impostors who pretend to be bewitched in *The Devil Is An Ass*. Fitzdottrel, in Act V, scene v, eats enormously, spits fire, and later confesses that the trickery was accomplished by means of a false belly and a bellows.<sup>3</sup>

The popularity of tricks of mutilation on the stage has been pointed out. The art of the juggler was carried to the extent of representing decapitations in a few execution scenes. The blood drama could go no further than this; no further extreme from the classical ideal of death off stage could be found than in the execution of Isabella in Marston's *The Insatiate Countess*. The execution takes place on the stage in full view, following a farewell speech by the victim, whose remarks are concluded by a stroke of the axe:

. . . Mount to thy Maker, spirit!  
Leave here thy body, death has her demerit.  
(*The executioner strikes off her head.*)<sup>4</sup>

The order is then given for the body to be borne out. Near the opening of the scene, the necessary equipment for performance of the trick had been provided in a scaffold which a stage direction says is "laid out."

The decapitation of Barnavelt in *The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* also takes place in full view. This time the victim

<sup>1</sup> Shirley later used the same device in *St. Patrick for Ireland*, Act IV, scene i, when Milcho casts himself into a fire, after having first thrown in various articles. Perhaps such tricks were in the mind of Webster when he made the conjuror in *The White Devil*, Act III, scene i, speak of jugglers who

". . . endanger their own necks  
For making of a squib, etc."

<sup>2</sup> Act V, scene i. This scene has no definite dramatic value but seems to be inserted for its spectacular appeal.

<sup>3</sup> Earlier, Act V, scene iii, Meercroft had explained how the trick was to be performed:

"A little castle-soap  
Will do't, to rub your lips; and then a nut shell,  
With tow, and touch-wood in it, to spit fire."

<sup>4</sup> Act V, scene ii.

tells the executioner to strike when he gives the word. There is no stage direction, but the dialogue indicates at what point the axe fell:<sup>1</sup>

I come, I come, o gracious heaven. now! now,  
Now, I present. . . .

The ax falls and the executioner asks if it was well done.

The head of Dorothea in Massinger's *Virgin Martyr* is cut off on the stage. She also makes a farewell speech from the scaffold, and her closing words are followed by the direction: "Her head is struck off."<sup>2</sup> An angel who comes and touches the mouth draws attention to the spectacle.

Proof of the ease of stage decapitations is given by Reginald Scot in his exposé of jugglers' tricks; he even prints diagrams of a scaffold to show how easy was the feat. The section describing decapitation is headed, "To cut off ones head, and lay it in a platter, &c. which the jugglers call the decollation of John Baptist."<sup>3</sup> After describing means for performing the trick, Scot adds:

Then to make the sight more dreadful, put a little brimstone in a chafing dish of coals, setting it before the head of the boie, who must gaspe two or three times, so as the smoke enter a little into his nostrils and mouth. . . . and the head presently will appeare stark dead; if the boie set his countenance according; and a little bloud be sprinkled on his face, the sight will be the stranger, . . . .

Somewhat simpler even than Scot's method of decapitation is one described by Ady in *A Candle in the Dark*. Ady's explanation will show how adaptable it was to stage executions:

. . . He layeth his Boy down upon the Table upon a Carpet, with his face downward, commanding him to lye still, then he taketh a linnen cloth,

<sup>1</sup> Act V, scene iii. Earlier in the play, Act V, scene ii. the executioner of Utrecht had boasted that he could "whip your dodipoll as clearly of and set it on againe as handisomely as it stands now, that you may blow your nose and pledge me too cans after. . . ." Cf. a similar boast cited from the Morality play, *Mankind*.

<sup>2</sup> Act IV, scene iii. That a similar execution occurs in the last scene of Chapman's *Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* is entirely possible. Byron is condemned to be beheaded and makes a farewell speech. The text of the play gives no indication of how the rest of the scene was managed; Professor Parrott surmises that it was a tableau with the curtain drawn across the inner stage as Byron mounted the block. But it seems probable that spectators of the play actually saw Byron's head struck off. An entry in *Henslowe's Diary* (Greg, I, 182) of payment for "a scafowld & bare for the play of berowne" may give a hint as to the staging of the scene in what was probably the source of Chapman's play. Even traveling actors sometimes presented realistic decapitations, it seems; a chronicler of the early life of Louis XIII relates how the young prince witnessed a play by English actors and "listened with coldness, gravity, and patience till the head of one of the heroes had to be cut off" (quoted by J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare in France*, p. 55).

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Book XIII, chap. xxxiii.

and spreadeth it upon the Boys head broad upon the table, and by slight of hand conveyeth under the cloth a Head with a face, limned so like his Boys Head and Face that it is not discerned from it; then hee draweth forth his Sword or Falchion, and seemeth to cut off his Boys head; but withal it is to be noted, That the confederating Boy putteth his head throw a hole in the Table made on purpose, yet unknown to the Spectators, and his Master also by slight of hand layeth to the Boys shoulder a pEECE of wood made concave at one end like a scupper, and round on the other end like a mans neck with his head cut off, the concave end is hidden under the Boys shirt, and the other end appeareth to the company very dismal (being limbned over by the cunning Limbner) like a bloudy neck, so lively in shew that the very bone and marrow of the neck appeareth, insomuch that some Spectators have fainted at the sight hereof; then he taketh up the false Head aforesaid by the hair, and layeth it in a charger at the feet of the Boy, . . .<sup>1</sup>

With slight modifications, either of the methods described by Scot and Ady was adaptable to stage executions. The dramatic request of Barnavelt that his head be struck off when he spoke the word was simply to enable the executioner to know when the apparent victim was ready for the consummation of the trick.

Jugglery was not always concerned with gruesome realism, and, as has already been pointed out, conjury frequently descended to clownery; jugglers were often no more than clowns; such, for example, is Forobosco, the conjuror in Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, who conjures his boy and forces him to dance half-naked.<sup>2</sup> A scene of mock conjury and clownery occurs in *A New Trickey to Cheat the Divell* when Friar John conjures forth the banquet about to be enjoyed by the deceitful wife and her paramour, the constable; he finally brings the constable from under the bed and introduces him to the husband as the devil Asteroth.<sup>3</sup> A combination of witch scenes, conjury, and an animal act occurs in Middleton's *The Witch* when in Act I scene ii, Hecate conjures and a cat enters playing on a fiddle; this scene is purely extraneous.

Sleight-of-hand tricks are used to get the attention of the spectators in the opening scene of Act III in Fletcher's *Beggars Bush*. After three songs, Prig comes out to juggle and asks:

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> Act II, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> Act III, scene i.

Will ye see any feats of activity,  
Some Sleight of hand, Legerdemain? hey pass.  
Presto, be gone there?

He juggles with three bullets which he pulls from the noses of the boors who are watching him, juggles money from their pockets, and makes his exit. The scene is frankly extra-dramatic and has no integral place in the play.

Heywood, always ready to employ variety show tricks in his plays, makes use of the slight motivation of witchcraft to insert a number of juggling tricks in *The Late Lancashire Witches*. In Act II, scene i, Moll makes her milk pail move across the stage unaided, a simple feat probably performed with an invisible piece of string. In Act III, scene i, a spirit turns a cake into bran, a trick which modern "magicians" are still performing. A little later in the same scene, a pie is opened, and a flock of live birds flies out. The tricks are frankly called by one of the characters *deception visus*, the contemporary name for such tricks of sleight.

The interest in tricks of conjury persisted down to the end of the Elizabethan period. In Fletcher's late play, *The Chances*, the conjuring of Vecchio helps to farce out the last two acts. The action of the main plot is complete after Act III, and the chief interest from then onward lies in the performances of Vecchio, who conjures with soft music and brings forth spirits, women in the play, etc. In the adaptation of the play by Villiers after the Restoration, all of this conjuring was omitted and the end of the play changed in order to unify it.

From the extant evidence it is clear that Elizabethan dramatists employed juggling and conjuring tricks to a now generally unrealized extent, and that popular interest in conjury and magic led to this interest being capitalized in spectacular shows on the stage. From the court to the rowdy Red Bull, audiences delighted in the trickery of jugglers. At court and on the most plebian of the public stages there was the same interest in the unusual. This Renaissance penchant for the strange and out-of-the-ordinary made magic and jugglery favorite entertainments, both on and off the stage. The texts of the plays give many examples of this diversion, but, without doubt, the juggler and

conjuror appeared more frequently on the stage than extant records can prove. Players took over and adapted to their use certain tricks of jugglers with a resulting increase in realistic detail. In other cases, players and playwrights simply inserted extraneous exhibitions of jugglery and conjury in order to satisfy the popular craving for sensational shows. This willingness to comply with public taste helps to explain many of the incongruous violations of dramatic structure in Elizabethan drama.

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## THE CRITIC OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FRENCH NOVEL

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In discussions regarding the development of the French novel a valuable source of information has thus far been neglected. The following article is an effort to throw light on the early evolution of the modern French novel by means of an examination of what seventeenth-century critics conceived to be the nature and purpose of this form of literature. By approaching the question from this angle we may, for the time being, dispense with an analytic and interpretative study of the novels themselves. The novelist, however, cannot be ignored since he frequently assumes the rôle of critic, usually in his prefaces but sometimes, as in the case of Sorel, in an independent treatise on the history and art of novel-writing. In the following appreciation of seventeenth-century criticism of the French novel there are, of necessity, points where the critic loses contact with the advance of the novel and also, on the other hand, where he anticipates the achievement of the novelist. The main purpose of this article is to provide a means of corroborating, controlling, and perhaps amplifying that picture of the development of the seventeenth-century novel which the reader has obtained from a study of the novels themselves.

Paradoxical as it may sound, the early seventeenth-century novelist is governed by a certain respect for probability. Gomberville and D'Urfé, the protagonists of the pastoral novel, insist upon this aspect of their art. *La Carithé*, according to the former, consists of "plusieurs rares et véritables histoires de notre temps" and later in his Preface he points out that his work is the story of the amours of Charles IX though all the allusions, geographical and historical, have been disguised. D'Urfé also makes no secret of the fact that all his shepherds and shepherdesses are purely conventional masks for contemporary notables. The device of the bucolic setting has been perfectly explained by Cherbuliez: "A l'époque de la Renaissance les raffinés préféraient jouer au pauvre en imagination; ils recourraient pour cela à la

pastorale."<sup>1</sup> As D'Urfé indicates in his Preface, one must not reproach his ladies with not speaking naturally. They are not "de ces bergères nécessiteuses qui, pour gagner leur vie conduisent des troupeaux aux pâtures."

Interspersed through the various books of his *Berger extravagant*<sup>2</sup> we find observations by Sorel on the art of novel-writing: these foreshadow his *Bibliothèque française*<sup>3</sup> and his *Connaissance des bons Livres*,<sup>4</sup> two works which contain much valuable material on the novel of the time. Sorel attacks the abuse of poetry in this type of literature, a defect which detracts from the probability of the characters. Contrary to the usual view, he is not here hitting only at D'Urfé, whose *Astrée* he admired, but also at lesser novelists such as Du Rosset and D'Audiguier. Sorel and D'Urfé are not so far apart as might at first be imagined. They really approach the same objective but from different directions. Both look on the novel as a reflection of contemporary life but, whereas the author of the *Astrée* would retain the conventional poetic disguise, Sorel will have nothing to do with anything that savors of the *merveilleux*.

Like the modern reader, Sorel objects to the annoying seventeenth-century habit of plunging *in medias res* at the beginning of a novel. A keen critic of technique (in others), he very properly scolds Du Parc for anticipating events by such unartistic methods as these: "Oh Lucidor, que la lettre que tu as écrite te coûtera cher. . . ." He jeers at the extravagant poetic jargon of these lesser novelists and at their stock heroines with their flinty hearts, lily-and-rose complexions, and eyes like suns. He finds even *Don Quichotte* improbable, and is highly amused at Cervantes setting himself up as an antagonist of the *roman romanesque* since in his own novel the Spaniard falls into those very errors which he claims to condemn.

Elle [Don Quichotte] n'a garde de faire beaucoup contre les romans vu que même elle est entremêlée d'une infinité de contes fort romanesques et qui ont fort peu d'apparence de vérité si bien que, comme elle, elle peut être mise au rang de tant d'autres qui ont trouvé ici leur critique.<sup>5</sup>

Camus, the witty bishop of Belley, who will always be remembered for his gallant effort to found a religious and didactic novel, condemns

<sup>1</sup> *Revue des deux Mondes* (Jan., 1910).

<sup>2</sup> 1628.

<sup>3</sup> 1664.

<sup>4</sup> Amsterdam, 1672.

<sup>5</sup> Conclusion of *Le Berger extravagant* (ed. 1633), p. 1083.

improbability, in theory at least. The three inseparable ingredients of the novel, he tells us, are truth, probability, and conjecture, by which he means imagination.<sup>1</sup> It is true that he fails to carry his theories into practice, but we are concerned with the critic and not the novelist, with the conception and not the performance.

In the theories of Camus we encounter two elements which all seventeenth-century novelists claim to respect—probability and morality. Mareschal, in his Preface to *Le Secret des Romans*,<sup>2</sup> suggests a third. "Je ne me suis servi de l'Antiquité," he says, "que pour donner une couleur étrangère au bien et au mal de notre temps." In other words, he respects verisimilitude in his portrayal of abstract ideas like vices and virtues, but in order to arouse interest he envelops these in a "romanesque" and even exotic atmosphere. As to the actuality of his work, a manuscript key to the Bibliothèque Nationale copy of *Le Secret des Romans* indicates that the love adventures described were authentic since they are said to be those of Mlle Hotman and M. du Tronchet. Like Scudéry and other writers of the heroic or pseudo-classic school, Mareschal makes no pretense to historical accuracy in his references to antiquity. The setting of such *romans héroïques*, like the scenery and costume of Racine's plays, is merely conventional; so long as accuracy is observed in the portrayal of sentiment the authors are content. Here, of course, we must recognize a lamentable gulf between theory and practice. The heroic school, then, differs from Sorel and his followers, Segrais for example, who will have no trifling with probability even in the *cadre* of the novel.

Despite the absurdities of his work we must place in this latter category a novelist called De Gerzan. This strange author takes his art very seriously. Several things, he tells us, are necessary to the composition of a good novel. In the first place, the "invention" must be good; the narrative should be logical and the story must consist of several well-defined plots, yet so well interwoven that no one of them may be omitted without breaking the thread of the history. Above all, he adds: "C'est peu de chose d'observer tout ce que je viens de dire si l'on ne met dans la vraisemblance les inventions des romans."<sup>3</sup> He is of course a complete failure as a novelist but his critical ideas

<sup>1</sup> Preface, *Agathonophile* (Paris, 1623).

<sup>2</sup> *La Chrysolite ou le Secret des Romans* (Paris, 1634), Bib. Nat., Y<sup>2</sup>. 7107.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Histoire africaine de Cléomode et de Sephonise* (1627).

are interesting if we make allowance for the fact that he is a pioneer. In this connection much of the contempt expressed by the modern reader for the seventeenth-century novel is quite unreasonable. When De Gerzan, for instance, gravely informs us that "en ce genre d'écrire je me suis attaché à des particularités que peu de gens ont observées, principalement à l'exakte géographie et à la vraie histoire,"<sup>1</sup> he is being perfectly sincere. The absurdities which he afterward proceeds to narrate represent the then-existing knowledge of distant lands. Historical accuracy is a relative affair, and there are many who regard the historical novels of Scott with the impatience shown by M. Mai-gron<sup>2</sup> for the pseudo-historical classic novel of the seventeenth century. In this study of the influence of Scott I do not think that the author explains the evolution of the French historical novel since he neglects to examine its origins in his own country. De Gerzan's illusion that he could carry out his ideas is excusable, but his conception of the novel is perfectly sound. "J'accorde mes inventions à la vraie histoire," he says, "d'elle-même je tire les plus belles aventures et m'en sers de telle sorte qu'on les prendroit d'abord pour des vérités, si fort je m'attache à la chronologie et à la géographie." What we have here is, obviously in an embryonic form, the modern theory of the scientific novel of which the classic example is Flaubert's *Salammbô*.

Segrais, in his Preface to *Les Divertissements de la Princesse Aurélie*,<sup>3</sup> reveals an intelligent understanding of the defects of the contemporary novel. It is clear from his introductory remarks that one of the chief reproaches leveled against the new genre of literature is its lack of any serious moral or didactic purpose. Segrais, like most of his colleagues, feels obliged to defend the novel as an educational medium. "Les beaux romans ne sont pas sans instruction quoi qu'on en veuille dire, principalement depuis qu'on y mêle l'historique et quand ceux qui les écrivent, savants dans les mœurs des nations, imaginent des aventures qui s'y rapportent et qui nous instruisent." Here he attacks the majority of heroic novels on the score of improbability. He deplores the liberties taken with historical truth and, in particular, the practice of attributing French manners and morals to Greeks, Persians, and Indians—"des choses un peu éloignées de la

<sup>1</sup> Preface, *ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Also called *Les Nouvelles françaises* (1656).

<sup>3</sup> *Le Roman historique*, (1910).

raison." He then bluntly states that the object of the novel is to entertain by means of probable and natural fictions, a somewhat daring admission in an age when reading was not so much a diversion as a serious intellectual exercise. Segrais as a critic is a pioneer. He is the first to suggest the possibility of a national novel. "Je m'étonne," he exclaims, "que tant de gens d'esprit qui nous ont imaginé de si honnêtes Scythes et des Parthes si généreux n'ont pris le même plaisir d'imaginer des chevaliers ou des princes français aussi accomplis dont les aventures n'eussent pas été moins plausibles."<sup>1</sup> The Spanish novelists, he points out, use only national appellations in referring to characters and places and, apart from custom, there is no reason why the French should not do the same. Finally, pursuing his plan of bringing the novel closer to actual life, Segrais asks: "Qu'est-il besoin que les exemples qu'on propose soient tous de Rois et d'Emperieurs comme ils le sont dans tous les Romans?" How is it possible for the ordinary reader to model his conduct on that of such exalted personages? Here, it will be seen, he is advocating in the novel reforms which anticipate those urged by Diderot in drama nearly a century later.

In the course of his interesting remarks Segrais defines the *roman* as distinct from the *nouvelle*. He says:

Il me semble que c'est la différence qu'il y a entre le roman et la nouvelle; que le roman écrit les choses comme la bienséance le veut et à la manière du poète; mais que la nouvelle doit tenir un peu davantage de l'histoire et s'attacher plutôt à donner les images des choses comme d'ordinaire nous les voyons arriver que comme notre imagination les figure.

Here we have a distinct advance toward our modern conception of the novel as a reflection of life. Yet if we take Segrais' words too literally we run the risk of attributing to him reforms of a revolutionary sort. It is clear from the context that by *choses* he means chiefly historical events or, at most, adventures which occur in aristocratic society and not the daily happenings which constitute the sum total of life in society at large. Still, he points to the coming of a new type of novel, the short and simply told story of sentimental or passionate love in a French court setting, the type of novel in fact whose chief representative is *La Princesse de Clèves*.

<sup>1</sup> Preface, *Les Nouvelles françaises*.

Sorel, in his *Bibliothèque française*, is not only a critic but one of the first historians of the French novel. In tracing the development of the novel from its origins until 1664 he ably emphasizes the fact that its successive modifications respond to an increasing demand for greater probability. The earliest examples of French fiction were the *romans de chevalerie* "appelés des romans tant en France qu'en Espagne pour ce qu'ils n'étaient point écrits ny en langage des Gots ny en langage des anciens Gaulois, mais en la langue corrompue du langage Latin ou Roman."<sup>1</sup> These were succeeded, he tells us, by the *romans bergers*. "On est venu aux amours des bergers dont les actions ont été jugées plus *faisables* et plus douces."<sup>2</sup> These were, however, still unsatisfactory, and the public continued to ask for more probability. "On voulait des histoires feintes qui représentassent les humeurs des personnes comme elles sont et qui fussent une naïve peinture de leur condition et de leur nature."<sup>3</sup> Already attempts had been made in France to portray in novel form the adventures and love affairs of princes and *grands seigneurs*. Works like *Les Aventures de Floride*, *Le Cabinet de Minerve*, *La Pucelle d'Orléans*, and *L'Histoire d'Orléans* had tried to satisfy the growing desire for verisimilitude, and did at least account for their situations by rational methods instead of resorting to the magic and enchantment of the old novels.<sup>4</sup> But it was the *nouvelle* which saved fiction from the excesses of improbability. "On commençait aussi à connaître ce que c'étaient des choses vraisemblables par de petites narrations dont la mode vint qui s'appelaient des *nouvelles*. On les pouvait comparer aux histoires véritables de quelques accidents particuliers des hommes."<sup>5</sup> We must thank the Spaniards and Italians, says Sorel, for models which, although reprehensible from the moral point of view, yet gave rise to French imitations in which the license was considerably toned down.

In praising the *Princesse de Montpensier*, the style of which is "tout à fait du beau monde," our author mentions that its theme is

<sup>1</sup> *La Bibliothèque française* (2d ed.), p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-81 *passim*. This is Sorel's comment: "Mais leurs entretiens n'étaient pas fort subtile et ce qu'on doit estimer là-dedans, ce sont les sentiments d'honneur et de vertu qui sont les plus beaux du monde avec quantité de secrets de la nature et de l'art par le moyen desquels plusieurs choses extraordinaires se font, au lieu que les anciens romans rapportent tout à la magie faute d'invention et de doctrine."

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

based on an actual contemporary adventure though the *cadre* is historical. And as will be seen from the following quotation, Sorel conceives the *nouvelle* as primarily topical. "Nous devons remarquer que pour les [i.e., les nouvelles] rendre judicieuses, il semble que toutes celles qu'on raconte ne doivent être que des choses arrivées depuis peu, autrement il n'y aurait pas raison de les appeler des *nouvelles*."<sup>1</sup> Many, however, do not observe this rule. Sorel grasps very clearly one of the chief characteristics of the *nouvelle* and one of its drawbacks. Owing to its brevity, its range is extremely limited. Such fictions "ne représentent que de certains accidents de la vie ainsi que font quelques relations véritables. Pour chercher un entier divertissement nous devons avoir des relations plus amples lesquelles on appelle des *romans parfaits* ou des *romans héroïques*."<sup>2</sup> The title *roman*, he observes, which was originally confined to novels of chivalry, is now extended to embrace all works of fiction. We shall discuss shortly his opinion of these novels.

In works of the *Clélie* type, what Sorel admires is their picture of the society of their day. He distinguishes from this class of novel, which aims only at probability, another type which pretends to be not only probable but true. To this category belong *L'Histoire de Meléante et de Cléonice*, *L'Exil de Polexandre et d'Ericlée*, *Le Palais d'Angélie*, and *L'Histoire de Lysandre* which describe contemporary happenings. But, says the critic, this is a difficult type of fiction: "il ne fait pas bon mentir en des choses si récentes."<sup>3</sup>

There is however a species of novel which gives a much more faithful picture of life than any other, "les actions communes de la vie étant leur objet."<sup>4</sup> This is of course the *roman satirique* or *burlesque*, and it was the Spaniards who first introduced this sort of novel, which is at the same time probable and entertaining. The author of *Francion* is well qualified to speak on this subject but it is a little odd to hear him deplored the licentiousness of foreign models. However, few will disagree with his enthusiastic remark that good comic novels are natural pictures of life.

Sorel is determined to realize his conception of a novel which shall be a close imitation of real life. The *nouvelle* seemed to offer a solution, and he is discouraged to find it degenerating into a vehicle for exag-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 188.

geration and license. "On se sert fort dangereusement de cette belle invention. Au lieu de nous donner des nouvelles sages et discrètes on nous en fait souvent de folles et impertinentes où tous les vices sont en leur règne."<sup>1</sup> His warning is prophetic. Unconsciously he is pointing to the origins of the *roman corrupteur* which in the hands of Crébillon, La Morlière, and Chevrier became fashionable under Louis XV.

It is not difficult when we read Sorel's criticisms of the heroic novel to understand why he concluded that the salvation of the genre as a whole lay in the *roman comique*. The reformer tends always to fly from one pole to another. In his respect for historical truth Sorel is of his century. While he is glad that *le merveilleux* has been abolished, he has no patience with the equally improbable adventures, ballets, battles, and *carrousels* which have taken its place. It is not so much the pseudo-classic setting which annoys him as the fact that it is presented with no regard for local color. Sorel, of course, does not use this expression but it is what he means.

Les auteurs de tels livres savent si peu les coutumes des nations qu'ils les décrivent toutes de la même manière, donnant de la douceur et de la civilité à des Scythes et à des Indiens et faisant vivre avec toutes les politesses de nos villes ceux qui sont encore logés dans des cavernes avec les bêtes farouches et sous des taudis de feuillages.<sup>2</sup>

Authors display the grossest ignorance as to foreign sacrificial and marriage customs, not to speak of costume and methods of warfare. Frequently this is simply due to lack of observation as when a novelist makes his hero stand up in his stirrups to deal a blow when in fact he grips his horse tightly with his knees. It is just because authors do not trust their knowledge of such technical things that they situate their stories in past ages. "S'ils voulaient raconter ces choses comme arrivées en ce temps-ci ils auraient beaucoup de peine à garder la bienséance. Chacun s'en établirait juge et en connaîtrait les défauts."<sup>3</sup> Again, there is no originality and no progress in the heroic type of fiction. The same clichés are preserved: the same eternal shipwrecks, corsairs, disguises, and abductions are endlessly repeated.<sup>4</sup> In short, the art of novel-writing has become a mechanical process like weaving.

<sup>1</sup> *De la Connaissance des bons Livres* (1672), chap. iv.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, chap. I.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Sorel does not see the real reason for this apparent lack of imagination. The explanation is that the novel has not shaken off the influence of the epic and, as La Harpe points out in reference to Florian's *Gonsalve*, hackneyed situations which in the epic are redeemed by the beautiful language in which they are expressed are quite impossible in prose fiction.

Boileau, like Sorel and Segrais, has no patience with the improbabilities of the heroic novel. However, M. Morillot exaggerates when he says that the *Dialogue sur les Héros de Roman* closes the history of the French novel for fifty years—a clear case of *post hoc, propter hoc*.<sup>1</sup> The French novel has now shed many of its superfluous incidents and improbabilities together with much of its verbiage. That this transition period, attended naturally by a certain hesitancy, should have coincided with the date of the conception of the *Dialogue* (*ca.* 1665) is a mere accident. M. Morillot also attributes to the sole influence of Boileau a movement toward probability in the novel which, as we have seen, is the result of a natural evolutionary process. He says: "Romans héroïques et romans burlesques n'oseront plus se montrer sous l'œil irrité du satirique, farouche de la vérité en prose comme en vers. Seule subsiste la *nouvelle* venue timidement de l'Espagne au commencement du siècle." But what is the *nouvelle* but the *roman* in its new and shorter form, and in 1664 we learn from Sorel that *nouvelles* had begun to appear which were to all intents and purposes short *romans*. "Les nouvelles qui sont un peu plus longues et qui rapportent les aventures de plusieurs personnes ensemble sont prises pour de petits romans."<sup>2</sup> The fact is that the old heroic novel was already moribund when Boileau conceived his *Dialogue*, which was not published until 1710. It is known, of course, that Boileau read his satire in manuscript to his intimate friends, but these must have been few compared to the numbers of novel readers. In 1672 there was no decline in the popularity of the novel. "On quitte tous les autres livres pour ceux-là," observes Sorel, and again, "C'est n'être pas du monde que de n'avoir point lu de tels livres. Ils font partie de l'entretien de plusieurs bonnes compagnies."<sup>3</sup> Further one has only to consult the registers of privileges of *Nouvelles*, *Vies*, *Relations*, *Histoires*, and *Mémoires* published between 1665 and 1700 to realize that novels were very much in demand. It is important, too, to note that many of these ran through two, three, and sometimes four editions. Of course, few have survived until today but that is rather beside the point since the more closely a novel reflects contemporary life and

<sup>1</sup> *Le Roman français*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *La Bibliothèque française*, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *La Connaissance des bons Livres*, chap. i.

thought the less chance it has of interesting the average reader of posterity. At the close of the seventeenth century a regular school of feminine novelists arose who apparently plied their craft with profit. One of these, Mme de Villedieu, received 100 sols a page<sup>1</sup> from Barbin, who was no philanthropist but a shrewd publisher. Novel-writing must have been a paying and popular profession.

The critic, then, favors the short sentimental novel set in a historical *cadre* which is usually national. I will pass over Huet despite the promising title of his *Traité de l'Usage des Romans*, interesting only for its definition of the novel as "une histoire amoureuse écrite en prose avec art pour le plaisir et l'instruction du lecteur." A much better critic is Pierre Perrault, brother of the famous Charles and also an enemy of Boileau. He has left us in manuscript some shrewd observations on the novel of his day.<sup>2</sup> He divides all novels into two classes, *poétiques* and *comiques*, though strictly speaking, he points out, all novels are poetic in the sense that they are fictions. In the first category he places what today we should call "romantic novels" since by virtue of their poetic quality

l'on permet aux auteurs de supposer des choses extraordinaires soit pour la valeur de leurs Héros, soit pour la beauté de leurs Héroïnes, soit pour leurs aventures; l'on admet des déguisements, des enlèvements, des captivités. L'on suppose entendre et parler toutes sortes de langues. L'on leur donne des richesses et des pierreries à point nommé.

The *manière comique*, on the contrary, presents nothing which is not natural and which does not conform to the ordinary tenor of life. Perrault draws an interesting parallel between the novel and contemporary painting. He compares the idealistic or poetic manner to the conventional style of painting which portrays ladies *à la Diane*, carrying bow and quiver and dressed in sumptuous finery "avec de gros diamants et de grosses pierres qui n'ont point leur pareilles au monde." The "comic" manner has its counterpart in the school of painting which presents its subjects dressed as in ordinary life.

Catherine Bernard, one of the many feminine novelists of the close of the century, discusses a new tendency. She admits that in her previous novels she failed to copy nature closely. She fell into the

<sup>1</sup> See Bib. Nat. MS 4328, *Mélanges d'histoire*, by Quincy de Saint Maurice.

<sup>2</sup> Bib. Nat. MS fr. 25572, *Critique du livre de Dom Quichotte de la Manche*, by Pierre Perrault, Receveur Général des Finances de Paris.

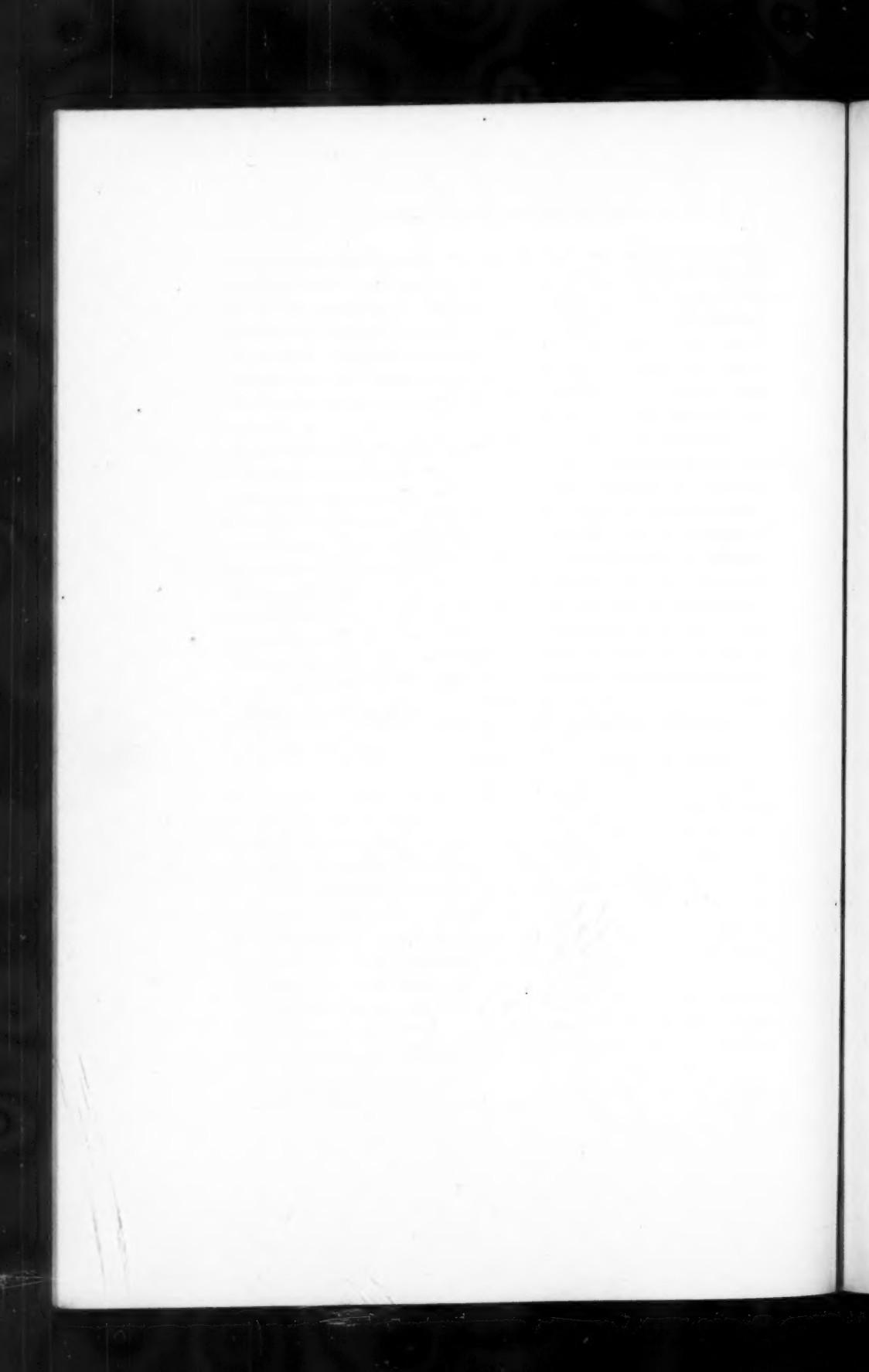
error of portraying not a passion but "the rational idea of a passion." This authoress conceives a type of novel which, from the exceptional nature of its theme, deliberately appeals to an élite and not to the general public. The *Comte d'Amboise*<sup>1</sup> is an example of this esoteric novel, and deals with a situation reminiscent of the *Princesse de Clèves*. The hero is generous enough to surrender his mistress to a rival. Bernard feels that the nobility of the conception amply compensates for its lack of probability.

If we were to judge of the progress of the novel at this stage by the interest evinced in it by the critic, we should point to the last years of the century as a period of decline. Registers and catalogues reveal, however, no falling off in output while the quality of the novels remains much the same as usual. The explanation is that literary criticism is wholly absorbed with the quarrel of the ancients and moderns and here the battle rages naturally round the older genres, tragedy, poetry, and comedy which supply ample material for *Parallèles* like those of Charles Perrault. Professional criticism really arises on a large scale with the advent of the literary journal, and from 1720 onward the novel will come in for its full meed of attention.

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<sup>1</sup> *Nouvelle galante* (1689).



## NOTES ON THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF POPE

The following notes are supplementary to *Alexander Pope: A Bibliography*. Volume I, Part I, by Professor R. H. Griffith (University of Texas Press, 1922), and to the review of that volume by Professor George Sherburn in *Modern Philology*, XXII (1925), 327-36. Arabic numerals refer to books described in Professor Griffith's volume, Roman numerals to Professor Sherburn's additions, and letters to additions by the present writer. Unless otherwise stated, the books described below are in the Yale University Library.

5. *The Spectator*, No. CCCLXXVIII. There is a period, not a colon, after "Messiah" in the title.

27. *An Essay on Criticism*. The Fourth Edition. After "2 lines Latin" in the title, insert "Horat."

The book is not a small octavo, but a duodecimo, the first twelve leaves of which have been printed in the manner described by R. W. Chapman in his "Notes on Eighteenth-Century Bookbuilding," *Library* (4th series), IV (1923), 167-69, except that in this instance the smaller part of the sheet is placed after the larger part and not within it. The chain-lines in the paper are horizontal.

For a description of an entire book printed in this manner see Book XIX, below.

A. THE / British Parnassus: / Or, A Compleat / Common-Place-Book / OF / ENGLISH POETRY: / CONTAINING / The most genuine, instructive, diverting / and sublime THOUGHTS. / VIZ. / Allegories, Comparisons, Similitudes, Apho- / risms moral and political, Characters and / Descriptions of Persons, Passions, Places / and Things, that are in the WORKS / of our most celebrated POETS. / To which is prefix'd / A DICTIONARY of RHYMES; / more copious than any hitherto extant. / — / In TWO VOLUMES. / — / VOL. I. / — / By EDW. BYSSHE Gent. / — / [3 lines Latin —Lucr.] / — / Printed by J. Nutt in the SAVOY: And Sold / by J. Pember-ton at the Golden Buck and Sun / against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet, and / J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall. MDCCXIV.

Title in black and red.

12°. Sig.: 3 leaves; a-c in sixes; d, 3 leaves; B-U in twelves; X, 6 leaves; X\*, 2 leaves.

Pp.: 6 pp.; i-[xlii]; 1-472.

The title-page of the second volume differs from that of the first only in the substitution of "VOL. II." for "VOL. I."

Sig.: 1 leaf; Y-Tt in twelves; Uu, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; 473-986.

A comparison of the collation of this book with that of Bysshe's *The Art of English Poetry*, Volumes III and IV (Griffith, No. 91) indicates that the two are identical except for the title-page, which is a cancel in the later issue. The importance of the book as evidence of the rapidity of Pope's rise to fame is heightened by the knowledge of its earlier publication. It cannot have appeared before March 4, 1714, however, since it includes passages from the revised version of *The Rape of the Lock*.

31. *Poems and Translations.* "Several," in the title, begins with a capital S.

There are no stubs visible in the Yale copy, but there is a false catchword ("Wit—A Wish") from page 84 to page 85. ("Pp. 83-92" in Professor Griffith's collation is a misprint for "pp. 85-92.") The Table of Contents agrees with the book as it stands, indicating that leaves G5-8 are a cancel half-sheet substituted before publication.

B. Poems on Several Occasions. / By N. Rowe, Esq.; / The Third Edition. / London: Printed for E. Currll, at the Dial and / Bible against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. / MDCCXIV.

12°. Sig.: A, 12 leaves; B, 6 leaves; C, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 4 pp.; [1]-42.

The Yale copy lacks the first two leaves. I have not personally examined a copy of the title page; the transcript above was taken from the copy in the British Museum, and does not indicate styles of type.

Apparently this book, when first issued, consisted of gatherings A and B only; C was added subsequently. This is indicated by the presence of the word "Finis" at the bottom of page 32, and by the fact that many existing copies lack gathering C.

In 1715 remainder copies, some with and some without gathering

C, were combined with remainder copies of *Original Poems And Translations. By Mr. Hill, etc.* (Griffith, No. 33) and reissued as *The Elzevir Miscellany*, Second Edition (see Book D below).

The *Epigram on a Lady who shed her Water*, etc. appears on page 32 [B6 verso], and is followed by a Latin translation.

The quarto edition of Rowe's poems, also published in this year, does not contain this epigram or anything else by Pope [B.M., 11643. bbb. 20(1)].

C. The / Poetical / Works / of / Nicholas Rowe, Esq.; / London: / Printed for E. Curr at the Dial and Bible / against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet. 1715. / Price 5s. ["5s" is in MS.]

British Museum [11611. d. 28].

I have not examined this book personally. From the description sent me it is evident that it is not identical with Book B. The *Epigram*, however, appears on the last page (p. 38).

D. THE / Elzevir MISCELLANY: / Consisting of ORIGINAL / POEMS, / TRANSLATIONS, and IMITATIONS. / By the most Eminent HANDS, / VIZ. / Mr. ROWE, / Mr. SHIPPEN, / Dr. KING, / Mr. SEWELL, / Mr. HILL, / Mr. EUSDEN, / Mr. BROOME, / Mr. JONES. / — / The Second Edition. / — / [ornament] / — / LONDON, / Printed for E. CURLL, at the Dial and Bible against / St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-street. 1715. / Price 2s. 6d.

The names of the authors are arranged in two columns. The words "The Second Edition" are in black letter.

12°. Sig.: A, 12 leaves; B, 6 leaves; C, 5 leaves; B, C in sixes; D, 5 leaves.

Pp.: 4 pp.; [1]-42; 1-33; 1 p. (book-list).

This is a "made-up" miscellany (see under Book B, above). The first two leaves of *Poems on Several Occasions* were removed and two other leaves, one a plate and the other a title-page, were substituted. The title-page of *Original Poems And Translations* was likewise removed.

This volume also failed to sell, and Curr therefore utilized the copies remaining in 1726 in making up *Miscellanea*, The Second Volume (Griffith, No. 180; see below).

E. *The Art of Painting*. This is a large and fine paper copy of

Griffith, No. 46: only thirty such copies were to be printed, according to the advertisement in the *Post-Man* of March 8–10, 1716. The title agrees with that of the ordinary edition, except that it is in black and red, and that the imprint reads: *LONDON: / Printed for BERNARD LINTOTT, between / the Temple Gates, in Fleetstreet. 1716.*

The collation agrees with that of Griffith, No. 46.

Professor Griffith, relying on the advertisement mentioned above, gives the date of publication of *The Art of Painting* as March 10 or earlier. The advertisement, however, reads, "There will speedily be published, Fresnoy's Art of Painting. . . ." The first "This day" advertisement seems to be that in the *London Gazette* of March 17–20.

51. *Court Poems*. One of the two Yale copies of this book has an incorrect catchword, "CAR-," at the foot of page 1. The copies are otherwise identical.

53. *To the Ingenious Mr. Moore*. Advertised as "this day published" in the *Post-Boy*, April 28–May 1, 1716.

55. A full description of this volume follows:

STATE POEMS. / VIZ. / I. VERSES upon the *Sickness and / Recovery* of the Right Honourable / ROBERT WALPOLE, Esq; / By N. ROWE, Esq; &c. / II. The Three PATRIOTS. / III. The RAMBLE between BELINDA / a Demy-Prude, and CLOE a Court- / Coquette. In Imitation of FONTAINE. / IV. An EPILOGUE written for the / New Comedy, call'd the *Drummer*, / but not spoke. / V. The WORMS. A Satire. / By Mr. POPE. / — / [ornament] / — *LONDON: / Printed for J. Roberts near the Oxford Arms in / Warwick Lane. 1716. Where may be had, / Mr. POPE's Court Poems.*  
Price 6 d.

Half-title: STATE POEMS. / BY / The most Eminent Hands. / Price Six Pence.

The MS date "May 19" in the Aitken copy is corroborated by a "This day" advertisement in the *Post-Man*, May 17–19, 1716.

*To the Ingenious Mr. Moore* appears on page 24.

57. *The Worms*. This may be dated by the following advertisement in the *Post-Man*, May 3–5, 1716:

This Day is published the 2d Edition of The Worms: A Satire, Written by Mr. Pope. . . . Mr. Cull hereby gives Notice, that he received a Letter

on Wednesday last [May 2], sign'd Peter Pencil; If the said Peter will send Word how a Letter may be directed to him, he shall receive a satisfactory Answer to his Epistle.

It will be noted that the letter referred to by Cull was received on the day following the publication of the first edition of *To the Ingenious Mr. Moore*. One is led to wonder if Peter Pencil may not have been Pope in quest of information as to the manner in which Cull secured the manuscript of the poem.

59. [An advertisement by Pope.] This appeared in the *Post-Man*, July 28-31, 1716. As it has never been reprinted, I give it in full:

Whereas there have been publish'd in my Name, certain scandalous Libels, which I hope no Persons of Candor would have thought me capable of, I am sorry to find myself obliged to declare, that no Genuine Pieces of mine have been printed by any but Mr. Tonson and Mr. Lintot. And in particular, as to that which is entitled, A Version of the first Psalm; I hereby promise a Reward of three Guineas to any one who shall discover the Person or Persons concerned in the Publication of the said Libel, of which I am wholly ignorant.

A. POPE

One is inclined to agree with Pope's remark, in his letter of August 7, 1716, to Martha Blount, that he had "equivocated pretty genteelly" in this advertisement.

III. *More Court Poems*. I know of no complete copy of this book, but I believe it is possible to identify it. It was almost certainly a "made-up" miscellany, the remainder copies of which were in turn merged, in 1717, in *The Ladies Miscellany* (Griffith, No. 97). The title of the latter book reads, in part: ". . . VI. On the Lady Berkeley. / — / To which are ADDED, / COURT POEMS, on Several Occasions. . . . ." The poems which follow *On the Lady Berkeley* in the miscellany are: (a) *Melesinda's Lamentation on the Burning of her Smock*; (b) *A Version of the First Psalm*; (c) *A Tale of the Finches*; (d) *To Sir Samuel Garth*; (e) *On Mr. Walpole's Recovery*; (f) *Ode to Hygeia*; (g) *The Patriots*; (h) *The Ramble*; (i) *An Epilogue written for . . . the Drummer . . . ; (j) To the Ingenious Mr. Moore; (k) The Force of Religion*.

It will be observed that the list of titles from (a) through (j) includes all the pieces named in the advertisement of *More Court Poems*

cited by Professor Sherburn. An examination of *The Ladies Miscellany* discloses the fact these poems originally constituted three separate pamphlets, as follows: (a) and (b); (c); (d-j). Piece (c) was published separately by Roberts in 1716; the group (d-j) was also published by Roberts (in 1714) under the title, *State Poems* (Griffith, No. 55; see above). Piece (k) was almost certainly not a part of *More Court Poems*, as I hope to show.

*More Court Poems*, then, appears to have been constructed in the following manner. Roberts set up an 8° half-sheet containing the title-page and pieces (a) and (b); he then removed the title-pages from remainder copies of *A Tale of the Finches* and *State Poems*, and bound the three pamphlets as one book. Finding that this volume did not sell, he disposed of the remainder copies to Currill, who used them in making up *The Ladies Miscellany*. It was almost certainly at this time that *The Force of Religion*, originally published by Currill as a separate pamphlet, was added to the collection.

*A Tale of the Finches*, it will be noted, was not named in the advertisement of *More Court Poems*. That it was actually a part of the volume is indicated, however, by the catchword "A" at the foot of the page containing *A Version of the First Psalm*. The catchword cannot possibly refer to *State Poems*, the first poem of which is *To Sir Samuel Garth*.

If the foregoing reasoning is sound, the collation of *More Court Poems* is as follows:

8° in fours. Sig.: A, 4 leaves [first leaf lacking in copy seen]; B, C in fours; D, 2 leaves; B-D in fours; E, 2 leaves.

Pp.: [1]-8 [first 2 pages lacking in copy seen]; 1-20; 1-28.

IV, (V). *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (Sewell's ed.). Advertised as "this day published" in the *Post-Boy*, October 25-27, 1716.

A comparison of the first and second editions of this translation (both in the Yale Library) shows that the second is from a different setting of type. This indicates that the first edition was sold out, and makes its rarity even more remarkable. The second edition is described below (Book H).

66. *Three Hours After Marriage*. The last gathering has two leaves, the second of which carries a list of books printed for Lintot.

IX. The collation of this item, as printed in the *London Mercury*, contained a number of errors. A correct description follows:

POEMS / ON / Several Occasions: / BY / *His Grace the Duke / of Buckingham, / Mr. Wycherly, / Lady Winchelsea, / Sir Samuel Garth, / N. Rowe, Esq; / Mrs. Singer, / Bevil Higgins, Esq; / And other eminent Hands.* / [ornament] / LONDON: / Printed for BERNARD LINTOT between / the Temple-Gates, 1717.

8°. Sig.: A, 4 leaves; B-N, \*N, O, P, in eights; Q, 4 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; [1]-192; 177-226; 2 pp.; 203, 204, 227, 228.

The two leaves between pages 226 and 227 were meant to be cut out by the binder and placed as follows: the two unnumbered pages, carrying a book-list, at the end of the book; the other leaf, in place of the original leaf O6.

In addition to the copy at Yale, a second copy of this rare volume has been located in the Dyce Collection in the South Kensington Museum.

87. Advertised in the *Post-Man*, July 9-11, 1717, as "this day published."

As Professor Griffith surmises, this is the same book as Griffith, No. 145, except that in the 1724 issue the 1717 title-page has been removed, and two new leaves, carrying a title and a dedication, have been substituted. The 1717 title-page reads:

THE / Agreeable Variety. / — / In TWO PARTS. / — / CONTAINING, / First, DISCOURSES, CHARACTERS, / and POEMS, relating to the most / useful Subjects; and extracted from / many worthy AUTHORS. / CONSISTING, / Secondly, Of LETTERS, POEMS, / &c. by several Private Persons, on / divers OCCASIONS. / Never before Printed. / [row of ornaments] / LONDON: / Printed for the Author, and Sold by G. STRAHAN, / over-against the Royal Exchange; A. BETSWORTH, / in Paternoster-Row; J. HOLLAND, and H. CLEMENTS, / in St. Paul's Church-Yard; J. WALTHO, in the / Temple; and C. KING, and B. BARKER, in West- / minster Hall. MDCCXVII.

91. *The Art of English Poetry*. See Book A, above.

92. The title-page is spaced as follows:

THE / Complete ART / OF / POETRY. / — / By CHARLES GILDON, Gent. / — / Vol. II. / — / [ornament] / — / LONDON: /

Printed for CHARLES RIVINGTON, at the / *Bible and Crown* in  
St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1718.

Pope's name is not included in the list of poets quoted, at the beginning of the volume.

96. *The Iliad* (Vol. IV). Title in black only.

97. *The Ladies Miscellany*. See Book III, above.

109. *Eloisa to Abelard* (2d ed.). The date on the title-page is spaced "M DCC XX."

In the collation, "A-D in 4's" should be "A-D in 8's."

111. A complete description of this book follows:

A / COLLECTION / Of DIVINE / HYMNS and POEMS / UPON / Several Occasions: / By the / *E. of Roscommon*, / John Dryden, *Esq.*; / *Mr. Dennis*, / *Mr. Norris*, / *Mrs. Kath. Phillips*, / *Mrs. Singer*, & others. / — / The THIRD EDITION. / — / To which is added, / I. Death's Vision: A Philosophical / Sacred Poem. Writ at the Request of / the late Mr. *Locke*. By Mr. *Reynolds*. II. *God, the Creator and Preserver*. By / the Reverend Mr. *Daniel*. With / several others not in the Former / Editions. / — / LONDON: / Printed for W. TAYLOR at the *Ship* in / *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXIX.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B-M in twelves; frontispiece, facing title-page, not counted in signatures.

Pp.: 2 pp. (frontispiece); 12 pp.; 1-256; 8 pp.

Frontispiece, L. Cheron Inv.—G. V<sup>dr</sup> Gucht Scul.

F. SCATING: / A / POEM. / — / By Mr. ADDISON. / — / [ornament] / = / LONDON: / Printed for E. CURLL in Fleetstreet. / — / M.DCC.XX.

Half-title: [ornament] / Mr. Addison's Poem / UPON / SCATING. / AND / Mr. Pope's Verses / TO THE / Lady Mary Wortley Montague. / [Price Six Pence.] / [ornament].

8°, signed in fours. Sig.: A-C in fours.

Pp.: 6 pp.; 1-17; 1 p.

The verses *To Lady Mary Wortley Montague* appear on pages 15-17.

This is probably the pamphlet which Professor Sherburn notes as being advertised in the *Evening Post* of March 29, 1720 (Sherburn, No. XIV). It is advertised still earlier, however, in the *Post-Boy*, March 19-22, 1719-20, as follows:

This Day is publish'd the Two following Poems, The Second Eve; a Poem on the Lady Mary Wortley Mountague. By Mr. Pope. 2. Seating: A Poem. By Mr. Addison. With a Preface concerning it. Price 6d. Printed for T. Bickerton in Pater-Noster-Row, W. Meadows in Cornhill, E. Currill in Fleetstreet, and T. Griffith at Charing-Cross. . . .

The Preface mentioned in the advertisement attempts to show that the poem on skating, ascribed in the *Musae Anglicanae* to Philip Frowde, was really the work of Addison.

The copy described above has only Currill's name in the imprint. There may be several variants of the title-page, one for each of the publishers concerned.

115. *The Iliad* (Vol. V). Title in black only.

119. *The Iliad* (Vol. VI). Title in black only.

120. *A New Miscellany*. Advertised as "this day published," in the *Post-Boy*, May 17-19, 1720.

123. *An Historical Account*, etc. In the imprint the date reads "M.DCC.XX."

128. *The Works of the Right Honourable Joseph Addison*. In the imprint, for "Katherine" read "Katharine." The date is spaced: "M DCC XXI."

G. *The Works of John Sheffield*, etc. This book (in the possession of the present writer) differs from Griffith, No. 137, in the following particulars: (1) both the portrait and the monument plate are placed in Volume I; (2) the imprint reads, "LONDON: / Printed by JOHN BARBER, Alderman of / London, MDCCXXIII.;" (3) the pages excised from Volume II have been supplied by printed cancels, as in the Newberry Library copy.

I do not believe that Volume II has been re-made to satisfy Whig censorship, since the cancels contain all the matter which, according to contemporary journals, caused the suppression of the original sheets. The best evidence of this fact is that every one of the objectionable passages cited by *Pasquin*, No. XIII, occurs verbatim in the book as it now stands. It may therefore be assumed, I think, that these cancels are a reprint of the original suppressed leaves. Two possible explanations of their presence in the volume may be suggested:

1. The cancels were printed and sold surreptitiously for insertion in mutilated copies; and the 1724 edition, advertised in the *Evening*

*Post* (see Sherburn, No. XVIII) was a new book, from which the objectionable matter was excluded.

In favor of this view is the existence of a book called *Buckingham Restored*, with the imprint "Hague: Printed by T. Johnson in the Year 1727." This contains the two suppressed pieces (*Some Account of the Revolution* and *A Feast of the Gods*), and is some evidence that they were not included in the edition permitted to be published in 1724. But the 1726 edition of the *Works* has all the suppressed material; and *Buckingham Restored*, which is a cheap reprint, may have been designed for a public which was not interested in the complete *Works*.

2. The cancels were not printed until 1724, when the republication of the book in its original form was permitted. The Jacobite passages (which might have been dangerous in 1723, during the excitement over the Atterbury plot) were no longer regarded, in 1724, as sufficiently offensive to warrant continued suppression, especially since their general tenor had already become public through the Whig newspapers.

Against this view may be urged the improbability of such a *volte-face* by the censors in so short a time. Moreover, my copy of the 1723 edition has in its inside cover the following note in an eighteenth-century hand: "Best Edition—the Edition of 1729 in 2 Vol. octavo being castrated on account of some political Opinions & Statements regarding the Revolution." If this information is correct (I have not seen a copy of the 1729 edition), then the 1726 edition may be incorrectly dated, or it may have been issued surreptitiously. In this case the 1724 edition, whether newly printed or not, probably lacked the two suppressed pieces.

Nichols states in his *Literary Anecdotes* (I, 258) that William Bowyer printed the Duke of Buckingham's poems for Barber in 1723. No doubt by "poems" Nichols means "works," but it is not quite clear that the reference is to the edition issued in 1723; the hypothetical 1724 edition might have been printed in 1723 and issued in 1724. The imprints of the two 1723 title-pages are of no assistance, one reading "printed for" Barber and the other "printed by" Barber—a fact that is not reassuring to bibliographers who might wish to rely on the truth of such phrases, since it is quite clear that the two 1723 issues are identical, except for the title-pages.

In any case, it appears that the bibliographical irregularities in Volume II of the edition of 1723 existed from the beginning, and some reason other than Whig censorship must be found for them. The misnumbering of pages 105–12 as 289–96 may, I think, be set down to carelessness on the part of the compositor, who gave to sheet P the page numbers appropriate to sheet Pp. The presence of sheets \*\*B, \*\*C, and \*R, and of leaf \*65, is not so easy to explain. If they contained treasonable matter it might be supposed that Pope had printed them with the intention of including them only in copies to be supplied to persons known to have Tory sympathies. This would be in line with the charge made by *Pasquin*, No. XIII, and it may conceivably be true of leaf \*65, which contains a rather bitter reflection on the enemies of James II. Excepting one comment on the bravery of James II, however, there is nothing in the other starred sheets which could possibly offend the most ardent Whig. It is probable that \*\*B and \*\*C, containing the *Memoirs* of Buckingham's life, were intentionally paged and signed to stand apart from the rest of the volume, and that \*R, which contains a speech of no great interest, was added by Pope as an after-thought.

The *St. James's Journal* of Saturday, February 2, 1723, states that the *Works* were seized "last Saturday" [January 26] and not on Sunday, as the *British Journal* declares. If the *St. James's Journal* is correct, the book had but one day's uninterrupted sale—Friday, January 25.

Much of the material for the foregoing note has been supplied by Professor Sherburn.

142. *The Poetical Register*. In the title, for "An" read "an"; insert a comma after "Sculptures." In the imprint, delete the comma after "Meadows."

144. A more complete description of this item follows:

*The British Journal*.

No. 1, Sept. 22, 1722—No. 277, January 13, 1728 (2 issues numbered "246"). Succeeded by *The British Journal: or, The Censor*, No. 1, January 20, 1728.

Folio. At first usually six pages to a number, the last leaf being a half-sheet; later, four pages to a number.

No. CXIII. Nov. 14, 1724. *The WISH; to a Young Lady on her Birth-Day. / By Mr. Pope.*

The poem is preceded by a letter addressed to the editor, dated November 6, and signed "G. L."

H. OVID'S / METAMORPHOSES. / In FIFTEEN BOOKS. / Made ENGLISH by / SEVERAL HANDS. / — / ADORN'D with CUTS. / VOLUME I. / — / The Second EDITION, with great Improvements / By Mr. SEWELL. / — / [ornament] / LONDON: / Printed by S. PALMER, for A. BETTESWORTH, / at the Red-Lyon, and E. TAYLOR, at the Black- / Swan, both in *Pater-Noster-row*; W. MEARS, at the / Lamb without *Temple-Barr*; and T. WOODWARD, / at the *Half-Moon* against St. Dunstan's Church, in / Fleet-street. MDCCXXIV.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B-M in twelves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; [i]-x; 1-258; 6 pp.

Frontispiece and eight plates.

The title-page of the second volume follows that of the first, except for the omission of the phrase "In FIFTEEN BOOKS," the substitution of a different ornament, and the omission of the hyphen in "*Fleet-street*" in the imprint.

Sig.: A-I in twelves; K, 6 leaves.

Pp.: [1]-224; 4 pp.

The "great improvements" advertised on the title-page do not affect the text of Pope's contribution.

180. *Miscellanea*. The Second Volume. (Variant c). The collation of the Yale copy of this variant agrees with that described in the Grolier Club catalogue, but not examined by Professor Griffith, except that the Yale copy has two additional leaves at the beginning of group u. These leaves are the frontispiece and the title-page of *The Elzevir Miscellany* (2d ed., 1715) (see Book D, above).

J. *Miscellanea*. The Second Volume. (Variant d). This consists of groups r, v, and t. The title-page and the last leaf are lacking in the Yale copy.

190. A more complete description of this book follows:

TRAVELS / INTO SEVERAL / Remote Nations / OF THE / WORLD. / — / In FOUR PARTS. / — / By LEMUEL GULLIVER, / First a SURGEON, and then a CAPTAIN / of several

SHIPS. / — / To which are prefix'd, / Several Copies of VERSES  
Expla- / planatory and Commendatory; never be- / fore printed. / —  
/ Vol. I. / — / The SECOND EDITION. / — / LONDON: /  
Printed for BENJ. MOTTE, at the Middle / Temple Gate in Fleet-  
street. M DCC XXVII.

The misprint "Expla- / planatory" is not noted by Jackson.

Sig.: A, 1 leaf; a, 6 leaves (first signed a2); b, 4 leaves; balance of  
A, 7 leaves; B-K in eights; L, 1 leaf; \*, 2 leaves; balance of L, 7  
leaves; M-U in eights; X, 4 leaves; Y, 1 leaf.

Pp.: [i, ii]; 20 pp.; [iii]-xii; [1]-148; 10 pp.; [1]-164.

191. *The Rival Modes*. The Second Edition. Except for the title-  
page and the half-title, this is identical with the first edition (Griffith,  
No. 182). A printer's error has been corrected on page 25, but the  
type has not been otherwise reset.

XIX. A more complete description of this book follows:

A / COLLECTION / OF / EPIGRAMS. / — / To which is  
Prefix'd, / A Critical DISSERTATION on / this Species of POETRY.  
/ — / [4 lines English verse] / — / [ornament] / — / LONDON: /  
Printed for J. WALTHOE, over-against / the Royal-Exchange, in  
Cornhill. / — / M.DCC.XXVII.

Half-title: A / COLLECTION / OF / EPIGRAMS.

12°, alternately in eights and fours (cf. Book 27, above).

Sig.: A, 8 leaves; a, 4 leaves; B-Z alternately in eights and fours.

Pp.: [i]-xxiii; 265 pp.

Besides the epigram noted by Professor Sherburn, CVIII (*On a  
Lady who shed her Water, etc.*) and CDXLI (*On a Fan, in which was  
painted the Story of Cephalus and Procris*) are also by Pope.

K. THE / HISTORY / OF THE / NORFOLK STEWARD /  
CONTINUED. / — / In TWO PARTS. / — / Part I. Containing  
an Account of Mr. / LYN's private Character, and the Me- / thods  
by which he grew Rich. / Part II. Containing some farther Account /  
of Mr. LYN's Management, and also / of his Stating and Ballancing  
Accounts. / — / [1 line Greek.—Anacreon.] / [1 line Latin.—Hor.]  
/ — / LONDON: / Printed, and Dublin Re-printed in the Year / — /  
M DCC XXVIII.

Half-title?

8°, signed in fours. Sig.: 3 leaves; B-D in fours.

Pp.: 6 pp.; 1-24.

This may be a genuine Dublin reprint, or it may be Griffith, No. 197a.

207. *The Posthumous Works of William Wycherly, Esq.* The "two scarce cancelled pages" are probably pages 239-40, which contain an erotic poem.

211. *The Dunciad, Variorum.* The running head of leaf a4 has the misprint "Puplisher."

219. *The Dunciad. With Notes Variorum, etc.* The owl plate, with the half-title on the recto, is used as a frontispiece in the Yale copy.

XX. A more complete description of this book follows:

MISCELLANEOUS / POEMS, / BY / Several HANDS: / PARTICULARLY / The D— of W—N, / Sir SAMUEL GARTH, / Dean S—, / Mr. JOHN HUGHES, / Mr. THOMSON, / Mrs. C—R. / — / PUBLISH'D BY / Mr. RALPH. / — / LONDON: / Printed by C. Ackers, for W. MEADOWS at the *An-gel* in Cornhill; J. BATLEY at the *Dove in Pater-noster-Row*; T. COX at the *Lamb* under the *Royal-Exchange*; S. BILLINGSLEY at the *Judge's Head* / in Chancery-Lane; R. HETT at the *Bible and Crown* / in the *Poultry* near *Cheapside*; and J. GRAY at the / *Cross-Keys* in the *Poultry*. M DCC XXIX.

12°. Sig.: A, 6 leaves; B-P in twelves; Q, 6 leaves.

Pp.: 12 pp.; [1]-348.

*Prudery* ("What is prudery?") is printed on page 224.

L. *Timoleon*. This is a later issue of the edition described as Griffith, No. 228. There is no change in the title. The leaf following the title-page is signed "A3," indicating that leaf A, not leaf A8, is missing. It was quite possibly a half-title. The Preface, page [A6], is longer and more carefully phrased than in the earlier issue. The last gathering, F, has four leaves, of which all but the last page are occupied by two epilogues and a song; the last page carries a book-list.

238. A more complete description of this book follows:

THE / Present State / OF THE / REPUBLICK / OF / LETTERS. / For January, 1728. / VOL. I. / [2 lines Latin.—Horat.] / LONDON: / Printed for WILLIAM and JOHN INNYS, / at the West End of St. Paul's, M DCC XXVIII. / Price One Shilling.

8°. Continued to be issued monthly until December, 1736, after which it was merged in *The Works of the Learned*. In its bound form there are two volumes to the year.

Vol. V. June, 1730. Art. XLII, p. 456. *An Account of a Latin and English IN- / SCRIPTION, proposed to be engrav'd on / the Monu-  
ment that is shortly to be E- / rected in Westminster-Abbey, to the /  
Memory of Sir ISAAC NEWTON. By / Mr. POPE.*

The Latin version differs widely from that in the *Grub-Street Journal*.

M. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / SOPHONISBA. / Acted at the / THEATRE-ROYAL / IN / DRURY-LANE. / By His MAJES-  
TY's Servants. / — / By Mr. THOMSON. / — / [ornament] / = /  
LONDON: / Printed, and sold by the Booksellers of London and /  
Westminster. / M. DCC.XXX.

12°, signed in sixes. Sig.: 1 leaf; A, 1 leaf; A, 4 leaves; B-G in  
sixes; H, 2 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; 1-76; 4 pp.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page A2.

N. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / SOPHONISBA. / Acted at the / THEATRE-ROYAL / IN / DRURY-LANE. / By his MAJESTY's  
Servants. / — / By Mr. THOMSON. / = / DUBLIN: / Printed by  
S. POWELL, / For GEORGE RISK, at the Shakespear's Head, /  
GEORGE EWING, at the Angel and Bible, And / WILLIAM SMITH,  
at the Hercules, Booksellers in / Dame's-street, M DCC XXX.

8°. A-D in eights; E, 4 leaves.

Pp.: 8 pp.; [1]-64.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page A4.

O. THE / TRAGEDY / OF / SOPHONISBA. / BY MR.  
THOMSON. / [large ornament] / LONDON, / PRINTED FOR  
THE COMPANY. / — / M. DCC. XXX.

8°. A-D in eights; E, 6 leaves.

Pp.: [1]-74; 2 pp.

Pope's Prologue is printed on page 7.

This book may be Griffith, No. 251 or No. 252.

255. *Foy's Weekly Journal*. *Dawley Farm* appears in No. 138,  
June 26, 1731.

257. The *Gentleman's Magazine* (second title-page). There is no period after "St" in the imprint.

P. THE / WINDSOR MEDLEY: / BEING / A Choice COLLECTION of several / Curious Pieces in PROSE and VERSE: / That were handed about in MANUSCRIPT / and PRINT, / During the Stay of the Court at WINDSOR-CASTLE / last Summer. / Most of them never before Printed. / VIZ. / [a partial list of the Contents in two columns] — / The THIRD EDITION Corrected, with large Additions. / = / LONDON: / Printed for A. MOORE, near St. Paul's; and sold by the / Booksellers of London and Westminster. 1731. / (Price One Shilling.)

8°. Sig.: 1 leaf; B-H in eights; I, 3 leaves.

Pp.: 2 pp.; 1-62.

A Question ("Tell, if you can, which did the worse") is printed on page 22.

265. A corrected description of this book follows:

AN / EPISTLE / TO THE / Right Honourable / RICHARD Earl of BURLINGTON. / Occasion'd by his Publishing PALLADIO'S Designs of / the BATHS, ARCHES, THEATRES, &c. of Ancient / ROME. / — / By Mr. POPE. / — / [2 lines Latin.—Hor.] / — / The SECOND EDITION. / — / [ornament, as in the first edition] / — / LONDON: / Printed for L. GILLIVER at Homer's Head in Fleet-street, MDCCXXXI. Price 1 s.

Folio. Sig.: 2 leaves; B-D in 2's.

Pp.: [1]-14; 2 pp. (last blank).

268. A Collection of Pieces, etc. As this is a "made-up" miscellany, there are naturally variations between copies. The Yale copy contains the same pamphlets as that described by Professor Griffith, but its collation differs slightly:

Sig.: A, / A-F in fours; / 3 leaves, B-F in fours; / b, B-H in fours; I, 2 leaves; / a, / a-e in fours; d, four leaves, with a quarter-sheet, \*d, \*d2, inserted; / B-F in fours; G, 1 leaf.

288. *The First Satire of the Second Book of Horace* (variant a). The catchword on page 13 is "In" (erroneous).

Q. AN / ESSAY / ON / MAN. / In EPISTLES to a Friend. / — / EPISTLE III. / — / [ornament] / LONDON: Printed. /

DUBLIN, / Re-printed, by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, / in Essex-Street, opposite to the Bridge, / MDCCXXXIII.

Small 8°, signed in fours. Sig.: A, B in fours; C, 2 leaves.

Pp.: [1]-18; 2 pp. (book-list).

Line 60 is unnumbered; line 70 is misnumbered 76; line 129 is misnumbered 130, and this error is continued to line 308, which is misnumbered 310; line 313 is misnumbered 315.

A comparison of these mistakes in numbering with those made in Griffith, No. 308, shows that the latter book served as copy for this Dublin edition. The page numbers are centrally placed, in parentheses; the paragraphs are spaced; the final note is in two lines.

R. *An Essay on Man*. Epistle III. The note in the Lefferts catalogue, referred to by Professor Griffith in his description of No. 315, is correct. The Harvard Library possesses an issue in which line 315 is correctly numbered.

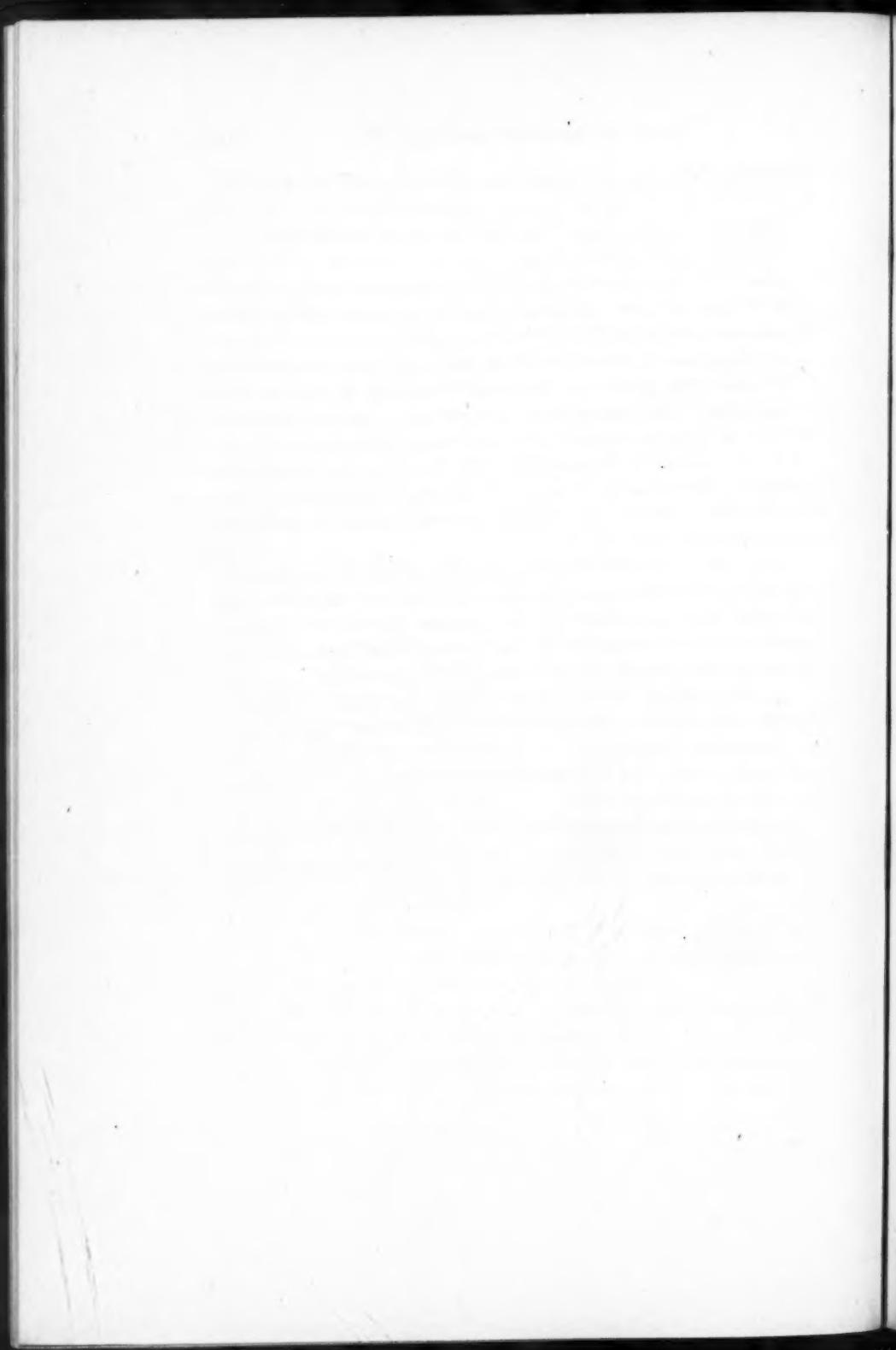
317. *The Impertinent*. If the misspelling of Wilford's name in the imprint was intended as a safeguard in the event of prosecution, the bookseller soon recovered from his fears, as his name is correctly spelled in advertisements of the book in the *Grub-Street Journal* of November 8 and the *Weekly Miscellany* of November 24.

S. AN / ESSAY / ON / MAN, / Being the FIRST BOOK of / ETHIC EPISTLES. / TO / HENRY St. JOHN, Lord Bolingbroke. / — / [engraved ornament] / — / LONDON, Printed: And, / Reprinted in Dublin, by GEORGE FAULKNER, in / Essex-Street, opposite to the Bridge, 1734.

I have not examined this book, which is in the Harvard Library.

ARTHUR E. CASE

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## THE BRIDGEWATER MANUSCRIPT OF *COMUS*

The Bridgewater Manuscript of Milton's *Comus* has always been held by the family and is now at Bridgewater House, the London residence of the Earl of Ellesmere.<sup>1</sup> This version has had less attention from English scholars than the other contemporary forms of *Comus* because the Trinity College draft in Milton's own hand is of higher authority in reference to the three editions of the masque printed during his lifetime. The 1637 text, published anonymously, and that in the 1645 edition of the *Minor Poems* are held to be the products of scrupulous revision by the author; they consequently outrank the earlier manuscript materials and the edition printed for the blind Milton in 1673.

Quite apart from these facts the Bridgewater Manuscript has unique value as a work of collaboration. For the first presentation of the masque Henry Lawes set the songs to music, and he may have suggested cuts in the longer speeches that make this version over a hundred lines shorter than any other form. As actor of the principal rôle he may have had the privilege of adapting the text; quite as surely his musical skill and familiarity with masque traditions would give weight to his suggestions in regard to stage directions and settings.<sup>2</sup> Though such points have had notice in the two editions of this text,<sup>3</sup> no record

<sup>1</sup> Through the courtesy of the Earl of Ellesmere and with assistance from Mr. Strachan Holme, librarian at Bridgewater House, the notes for this study were made from the manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> In 1634 the masque tradition was drawing to its close as the aristocratic followers of Charles I withdrew their patronage from this blend of music, poetry, and pageantry. In the final development of the form Henry Lawes had an important part, in company with his brother William, Inigo Jones, Carew, and Shirley. Lawes gathered the experience for the *Comus* production at Ludlow Castle by assisting with the sumptuous performances of other masques at Whitehall and the Inner Temple. His place in the cast was a natural result of that experience joined with his service as teacher of music in the Bridgewater family.

<sup>3</sup> The full text of the Bridgewater *Comus* appeared as Appendix II, pp. 167-92, in H. J. Todd's *Comus, etc.*, Canterbury, 1798. See also his modifying notes in his *Poetical Works of John Milton*, V (1801), 431-38. Disagreements with Todd's assertions are too numerous for mention here. All his comparative notes on the *Comus* text are open to question because based on Thomas Warton's study of the Trinity College Manuscript instead of on original work. The other printing is that of Lady Alix Egerton: *Milton's Comus, being the Bridgewater Manuscript, with Notes and a Short Family Memoir*, London, 1910. Though not devised as a critical study of all the *Comus* materials, this edition is noteworthy on account of its excellent Introduction based on unpublished papers of the family dating from the seventeenth century.

has been made of some significant peculiarities in the stage directions. These have a bearing on the relationship existing in 1634 between Lawes and Milton.

One unique feature of the manuscript has been noted, namely, the use of nineteen lines of the Epilogue as printed in the 1637 text for the opening of the first speech. Henry Lawes in the rôle of the Attendant Spirit<sup>1</sup> spoke these lines and made them more significant dramatically than they are in the printed versions of the masque. Presumably in Milton's original draft they actually stood first or else they were shifted at the request of Lawes for his own advantage as an actor. Another variant from all other versions is the breaking of the lines preluding the rising of Sabrina<sup>2</sup> into seven speeches, whereas elsewhere the entire passage is given to the Attendant Spirit. This too may be a mark of Lawes's handiwork. Though many verbal differences exist in the texts of the two manuscripts, none of these can be ascribed to Lawes with any assurance,<sup>3</sup> so that a study of his modifications must be restricted to the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript and the stage directions. Only the two passages noted above evidence textual handling that cannot as plausibly be credited to Milton.

One erroneous idea regarding the Bridgewater Manuscript is that it is in the hand of Henry Lawes. The notion grew from his own assertion that frequent copying of the masque for others so tired his pen that he was forced in 1637 to put it into print.<sup>4</sup> Todd held this belief even after seeing the manuscript,<sup>5</sup> presumably because he had no authentic specimens of the handwriting of Lawes, and his assertion still stands without printed denial. Knowledge that the manuscript is not in the hand of Milton led to this *non sequitur* conclusion. That the version as a whole is not the work of Lawes is made certain through a comparison with four accepted specimens of his writing preserved in

<sup>1</sup> In the Bridgewater version called the "Guardian Spirit" or "Demon," as in the Trinity College Manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 869-89 in standard editions.

<sup>3</sup> No substantial evidence strengthens the alluring idea of Todd (1798 ed., p. 40) that Lawes is responsible for the "professional alteration" in l. 230 of the Bridgewater Manuscript making it read "And hold a counterpoint to all heav'n's harmonies" in place of the standard line of Milton (l. 243) "And give resounding grace to all Heav'n's harmonies." Had he seen the Trinity Manuscript, he would have noted that Milton's effectual blotting of the essential words left visible enough of the word "hold" to prove that he himself originated the musical term.

<sup>4</sup> Dedication of the 1637 edition.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, V, 431-32.

the British Museum and elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The same handwriting test proves, however, that he did make significant additions to this manuscript after the full form had been put down by another hand.

All the evidence suggests that the Bridgewater Manuscript was written by a skilled copyist. Marginal rulings, particularly for the ornamental lettering of the title-page, and a use of red ink for the names introducing all the speeches are indications of special care in preparing a copy for the library of the Earl.<sup>2</sup> With no available evidence concerning the person who wrote out the manuscript in its entirety, we may consider the additions made in the hand of Henry Lawes. This may be done advantageously in connection with a description of the manuscript.

The forty-eight unnumbered pages, measuring six by seven-and-a-half inches each, are arranged in six gathers of two folded sheets.<sup>3</sup> The first gather of eight pages has the formal title on 2a; on 3a the text begins. The sixth gather of eight pages has the closing lines on the first half-page. The total of lines exclusive of stage directions is 908 as compared with the standard form having 1,023 lines.

Beneath the formal heading of the title-page and in the same hand is a line that reads "The chiefe persons in the rep'sentacon were." Immediately below, but in the writing of Lawes, are given the names of the three children of the Earl having rôles:

THE LORD BRACKLEY  
THE LADY ALICE }  
MR. THOMAS } EGERTON

At the foot of the page is the entry of still a third person, the second Earl of Bridgewater, crediting Milton with authorship of the masque.

<sup>1</sup> The Museum specimens are: a note from Lawes to Milton, undated except as it bears upon the Italian journey, regarding a safe-conduct overseas for Milton and one servant, Add. MS 36,354; a letter from Lawes to Captain Thomas Faulconbridge, Add. MS 33,965, fol. 58; four sheets of words and music for *Comus*, the fourth having his signature, Add. MS 11,518. The last item has been compared with a large collection of signed manuscript copies of songs set by Lawes which is now in the possession of Rev. H. R. Cooper-Smith.

<sup>2</sup> The second Earl of Bridgewater wrote on the title-page "Author Jo: Milton" (Egerton ed., p. 32). Identification of his handwriting implies that this note was made long after the performance, for he was but a boy in 1634.

<sup>3</sup> In every case the fold covers all but the ends of the watermark. These ends are of conventional design, being pointed grape clusters, with a fool's cap forming the tip of one end.

In the upper right margin of 6b is the stage direction "they all scatter." The words are cramped because of the small space available, but the color of the ink and individual letter forms connect them clearly with the Lawes entry on the title-page. Page 19b has the direction "Sabrina descends and the lady rises out of her seate," and 20a has the words "Songe ends." All three of these stage directions are duplicated in the Trinity College Manuscript, where they stand significantly in the right margins over against solid text matter as written by Milton when composing the masque. The deduction is that as evident additions to Milton's solitary composition of *Comus* these are related directly to the notes of Lawes as added to the Bridgewater Manuscript. Considering the Lawes entries in their reference to the manuscript in which they stand, we may feel sure that Lawes used this finished copy with his mind on the first staging at Ludlow Castle on September 29, 1634.

The stage directions incorporated in the Bridgewater Manuscript by the copyist have still greater significance when checked against their appearance in the Trinity College Manuscript. Where the former has (ff. 1. 230) "Comus looks in and speaks" Milton has changed his original reading "Comus enters" to correspond. Where the Bridgewater Manuscript has as the second sentence of the stage direction following line 639 "Comus appears with his rabble, and the Lady set in an inchaunted chayre, to whome he offers his glasse, which she puts by, and goes about to rise," Milton has "Comus is discover'd with his rabble & the Ladie set in an enchanted chaire. She offers to rise." The Bridgewater Manuscript follows the Demon's song beginning "Sabrina fair" with "The verse to sing or not," but Milton has no such stage direction. Instead, at the right of the next line of text, he wrote "to be said." His couplet

Listen and appeare to us  
In name of great Oceanus

is thereby noted as the place to resume speech, and it is followed by six marginal lines of text for insertion. Here are proved contacts of the two manuscripts; they have a relationship recorded in no printed version of the masque. It is significant that this evidence accords with Milton's marginal note after what is now line 671 of the standard text: "that w<sup>ch</sup> follows heere is in the pasted leafe begins [two words deleted] and first behold this" and his insertion of thirty-four lines

that also are given in the Bridgewater Manuscript.<sup>1</sup> The evident conclusion is that the Bridgewater Manuscript in its entirety represents a shortened version of the Trinity College Manuscript, being itself a fair copy.

The other deduction from these compared stage directions is that either Milton revised his original stage directions somewhat while working alone or that he did so after conferring with Lawes. Two arguments make the second possibility virtually a certainty: all of Milton's agreements with the cases cited from the Bridgewater Manuscript are either alterations of directions standing in proper spacing within his Trinity Manuscript text or else they are additions put in the margins at points exactly agreeing with their placing in the Bridgewater Manuscript. Like forms, with some verbal variation, demonstrate Milton's collaboration with another person interested in the staging of the masque at Ludlow. Such collaboration is evident only through study of the two manuscripts, for he obscured it by other revisions when making ready for the 1645 edition.

When taken in connection with the shift of nineteen lines noted previously, these added stage directions signify that Milton personally had little to do with the production. They further may be vitally related to the fact that the longer version of the masque was printed in 1637 without his name as author. Had Lawes any peculiar reason for failing to register Milton as author when he wrote the names of the three children on the title-page of the Bridgewater Manuscript? Did he omit his own name as well through a feeling of class deference? If the masque in 1637 was actually "not openly acknowledg'd by the Author,"<sup>2</sup> whereas Lawes had the status of collaborator in the printing as in the staging, one can but presume Milton then to have been restrained by diffidence—not by inordinate pride inciting toward perfected workmanship before he should offer his work to the public. Some account is to be taken of the motto from Vergil appearing on the title-page of the 1637 edition

Eheu quid volui misero mihi! storibus austrum  
Perditus—

as being a sincere reflection of his feeling. He was possessed by both motives, beyond a doubt; yet at the staging of his masque in the year

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the Bridgewater Manuscript stage direction after l. 886, "2 Songe presents them their father and mother," and Milton in the Trinity Manuscript giving merely "2 song."

<sup>2</sup> Dedication of the 1637 edition.

1634 Milton was partially dependent upon the advice of Lawes and in 1637 was acting under pressure to print. The manuscript evidence intensifies what Milton has recorded of his uncertainty, mistrust of self, and his dependence upon others during the years before his Italian journey. To ignore these facts gives the only means possible for those who argue to the contrary concerning the essential quality of Milton's youth.

Recurring for a moment to the Bridgewater Manuscript, one sees the meaning of Milton's deference to the experience of Lawes in the composition of his masque and finds the cause of his gracious tribute in the sonnet beginning

Harry, whose tuneful and well measur'd song  
First taught our English music how to span  
Words with just note and accent, not to scan  
With Midas' ears, committing short and long. . . .

This deftness in setting lyrical verses to music won similar poetic tributes from many other contemporaries, as can be seen in the introductory pages of the collected editions of the Lawes settings published during the seventeenth century. It is noteworthy, however, that Milton was the only poet to find him serviceable as collaborator, musician, actor, producer, and editor. The obligation seems unique in the story of English letters. It should be recorded still further of Henry Lawes that his 1637 edition of the masque, with the famous Dedication, brought Milton the favor of Henry Wotton and thereby the introductory letters that gave the poet free entry everywhere along the route of his continental tour. Lawes likewise procured passport privileges for Milton and his manservant.<sup>1</sup> For all these signs of friendship toward Milton, Henry Lawes ranks as more than a symbolic Attendant Spirit treading the poetic mazes of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle. He quite evidently put Milton in the way of favor from the aristocracy, but above that is his rôle of collaborator in staging and publishing *Comus*. It is a fair question whether Milton would have put off his natural tendency toward solitariness without energetic help from Henry Lawes, musician of the Chapel Royal to Charles I and fashioner of delicate airs for a new lyric poetry.

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<sup>1</sup> Add. MS 36,354.

## MILTONIANA (1679-1741)

The subject of Milton's early influence has now been studied so minutely<sup>1</sup> that any additional illustrations, even of a minor character, may be assumed to have an accidental value. With one exception, the seven poems which are here described, poems published in the period between 1679 and 1729, have been unnoted by students of Milton, and some of them have escaped the observation of bibliographers. This obscurity is in itself sufficient proof that they are intrinsically of no great moment. Such significance as they have consists in the additional light they throw: first, upon the widespread interest in Milton; and, second, upon the strange reactions of minor poets to a literary example which they admired but could not appreciate. It is no longer necessary to argue that crude workmanship is sometimes of peculiar historical value, for inept writers often reveal popular movements more clearly and expose literary processes more nakedly than their greater contemporaries do. This is especially true of various minor poets during the transitional period of the eighteenth century. Some of the following specimens are worthy of note chiefly because they illustrate with remarkable clearness a crude stage of the romantic evolution and the ironical part Milton played in the change.

With the poems I have included also an apparently unknown critical essay of 1741 on *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*.

### I

The anonymous poem *Order and Disorder: or, The World Made and Undone* (1679) appears to be both an imitation of *Paradise Lost* and also a veiled rebuke of Milton. Nowhere is *Paradise Lost* or its author mentioned, but apparently the very small poem was suggested by the very great one. That the writer could have traversed the same biblical ground Milton had gone over twelve years earlier without being

<sup>1</sup> J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (1915); George Sherburn, "The Early Popularity of Milton's Minor Poems," *Modern Philology*, XVII, 259-540 (reprinted separately, 1920); Raymond D. Havens, *The Influence of Milton in English Poetry*, 1922; other studies cited by these writers; and H. G. De Maar, *A History of Modern English Romanticism* (1924), I, 162, note.

aware of the fact is highly improbable. His version of the Genesis story consists of five cantos, written in the stiffest of heroic couplets. The ostensible motive is explained in the Preface. Like most of the English poets since the time of Wyatt, the author found it advisable in manhood to do penance for a strain of youthful paganism. From having translated "the account some old Poets and Philosophers give of the original of things" the author had become so affected by the blasphemous inventions of human wit that he now thought it

necessary to have recourse to the fountain of Truth, to wash out all ugly wild impressions. . . . Lest that arrive by misadventure, which never shall by my consent, that any of the puddled water, my wanton youth drew from the prophanie Helicon of ancient Poets, should be sprinkled about the world, I have for prevention sent forth this Essay; with a Profession that I disclaim all doctrines of God and his works, but what I learn out of his own word, and have experienc'd it to be a very unsafe and unprofitable thing for those that are young, before their faith be fixed, to exercise themselves in the study of vain, foolish, atheistical Poesie.

While this corrective design is stated with reference only to the author's own youthful indiscretions, he evidently had his eye on other transgressors. Milton himself had been uneasy concerning the use of pagan myth in a Christian epic, and the apology he offers is hardly satisfactory. The first object of his puny successor was to remove from the Mosaic legend all accretions from heathen fable and philosophy. He returns to this subject in that part of the poem itself which describes the state of the fallen angels. Milton had managed in this connection to unite Christian and pagan legend by repeating the traditional explanation that the various false deities worshiped by the Gentiles were really Satan and his followers in disguise. To the poet of *Order and Disorder* the fables of the classics contained at most "some truths, wrapt up in many lies."

But not to name these foolish impious tales,  
Which stifle truth in her pretended veils,  
Let us in its own blazing conduct go,  
And look no further than that light doth show [p. 47].

Milton had thrown out cautions of the same kind; the difference is that the *poeta minimus* actually conforms to his doctrine that a Christian poem should admit no defilement whatever from the alien.

He was determined to weed out, also, the numerous inventions made by the Christian poets themselves. The old Genesis story had been so daubed over by the redactors that the divine truth had become deeply incrusted with human error. Christian poets had thus added to the confusion that originated in pagan falsehood. In this part of his criticism the censor was almost certainly glancing at *Paradise Lost*. Considered merely with reference to historical content, Milton's epic is distinguished from *The Devine Weekes and Workes* of Du Bartas and from other precursors by an artificial union of the two testaments; by means of the Vergilian device of the vision from the mount Milton imparts to Adam the entire doctrine of Christianity. This unauthorized procedure is alluded to, I think, in the following passage of *Order and Disorder*:

How far our parents, whose sad eyes were fixt  
On woe and terror, saw the mercy mixt,  
We can but make a wild uncertain guess,  
As we are now affected in distress,  
Who less regard the mitigation still  
Than the slight smart of our afflicting ill [pp. 64-65].

To guard against such errors, the author of this poem inserts in the margins scriptural reference for every painful step he takes in the narrative. It is true there are references to the Christian atonement, but they are addressed exclusively to the reader, and the knowledge conveyed is carefully secreted from Adam and Eve. In other words, *Order and Disorder* forces the biblical story back into the narrow channel of literalism which Milton had allowed it to overflow. Except for the few asides to the reader concerning the miracle of redemption, it is a complete reversion to the pessimistic tone of Nicholas Billingsby's *Kosmobrephia, or the Infancy of the World* (1658). The author's conscience allowed him to make free use of Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*; the most readable part of his performance is a close reproduction in Canto III of Fletcher's allegory of the body. Otherwise he appears to have revised Milton quite independently of all direct inspiration except from his Bible.

While removing Milton's mythology, he also eradicated all theological heresies. *Paradise Lost* was thus rendered a thoroughly authentic and orthodox story, the kind that might be read with secure

profit by the "painful ministers of God's word" and their literal-minded auditors. The author was unconcerned for literary fame. Truly prophetic, he foretold in his Preface that he should not be prominent in the roll of poets.

I know I am obnoxious to the censures of two sorts of people: First, those that understand and love the elegancies of Poems, they will find nothing of fancy in it; no elevation of stile, no charms of language, which I confess are gifts I have not, nor desire not on this occasion; for I would rather breath forth grace cordially than words artificially. . . . Had I had a fancy, I durst not have exercis'd it here; for I tremble to think of turning Scripture into a Romance.

To a second class, those who "think Scripture prophan'd by being descanted on in numbers," he offers the hackneyed defense that much of Scripture itself is in poetical form.

## II

Milton was destined to suffer chiefly, not from his correctors, but from unworthy imitators. Like Spenser, he was put to very base uses. No doubt many Puritans agreed heartily with the author of *Order and Disorder* in exalting orthodoxy above the art of poetry. At the other extreme of Restoration society were the gay and flippant worldlings who saw in *Paradise Lost* new possibilities for profane diversion. The poem gave new vigor especially to the satirical treatment of women. Although Milton was not the inventor of the crooked rib, he did give the old story of the origin of woman additional prestige, and his treatment of the sex problem was masculine enough to satisfy the most serious and the most facetious anti-feminists. As the warfare between the sexes waxed hot, the story of Eve's tragic indiscretion came to play a larger part than ever before in controversial and satirical literature. From the lofty Miltonic height the Genesis story was thus dragged down to the mud of Restoration vulgarity.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following passage occurs in John Dunton's *Female War* (1697), Letter XIX: "Well rest the Ghost of poor Milton, who when you had blinded him, like his own Sampson, yet made a shift to give you one Sparring Blow, before he dy'd. For thus he compliments you, and instructs us in his *Sampson Agonistes*:

" . . . Heav'n's Universal Law,  
Gave to the Man despotic Power,  
Over his Female, in due awe,  
Nor from that right to part an Hour;  
Smile she or lour,  
So shall he least Confusion draw,  
On his own Life, not sway'd  
By Female Usurpation, nor dismay'd" (p. 210).

Letter XXI makes similar use of an extract from *Paradise Lost*, preceded by the statement that "Milton will once more show 'em their Picture, and they can't deny but 'tis to the Life" (p. 233). For satirical use of the Genesis story, see *Female Excellence: or, Woman Dis-*

A comparatively innocuous stage in the process of degradation is exemplified in *The Great Birth of Man: Or, the Excellency of Man's Creation and Endowments Above the Original of Woman. A Poem. By M.S.* (1686; 2d ed., 1688). The author (Matthew Stevens?) concealed his name because his "Book was importun'd into the World" before he had had time to revise it. Besides, he seems to have been reluctant to trust his fame in the hands of the reading public when a "Bunyan may have more Editions than a Cowley"! The poem is written in couplets and extends to twenty-four pages. Here, too, we have a complete rehearsal of the old story—the revolt of Lucifer, the creation of man, the temptation, and the fall. The tone is entirely serious, but all the material is selected with special reference to the thesis announced in the title—the superiority of the male over the female. The concluding moral will sufficiently illustrate the poetical caliber of the entire piece:

Take heed Posterity, and Learn from Me,  
What dangerous Treach'rys in false Women be.  
Secure your selves by Countermining Arts,  
Lest they blow up, or else betray your Hearts.  
Take heed, for when, like Crocodiles, their Tears  
Do gently Fall, then's greatest cause of Fears:  
Then their deceitful Hearts design a Prey,  
And in the midst of seeming pity Slay.  
And if they Charm you once within their Pow'r,  
They'll sweetly Sing, like Syrens, to Devour.

That Pride which cast down *Lucifer* from Heav'n,  
And was by Foolish *Eve* renew'd again,  
Will ever in depraved Woman Reign.  
Nor their Ambition, shall whole Worlds suffice,  
Nay *Hell* as soon be Glutted, as their Eyes:  
Through Blood and Sacrilege, 'twill make its way,  
And be as Violent as the Raging Sea.  
They'll long for things because they are deny'd,  
To show their Folly's equal with their Pride:  
Excepting where some mischiefs the intent,  
Then Woman's sharper Wit, does Mans prevent;  
Their being practis'd in such wicked Arts,  
Gives the advantage to their weaker Parts.  
Take Heed (my future Sons) or you'l too late,  
With dear Experience, buy your Heavy Fate.

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*play'd, In Several Satyrick Poems. By a Person of Quality* (1679) and *Love given o're: or, A Satyr against the Pride, Lust, and Inconstancy, etc. of Women* (1682), both of which were often reprinted and are usually attributed to Robert Gould.

One would hesitate to call this vulgar diatribe Miltonic, and it might conceivably have been uttered if Milton had never written; but apparently it does contain reminiscences of *Paradise Lost* (Book XI) and *Samson Agonistes*. The obligation is more pointed in some of the narrative passages and in the long dialogue between Adam and Eve after their transgression.

## III

Professor Havens has devoted a brief paragraph<sup>1</sup> to a Miltonic imitation by Matthew Smith, *The Vision, Or A Prospect of Death, Heav'n and Hell. With a Description of the Resurrection and The Day of Judgement* (1702). Intrinsically, the volume deserves no more than the space he has allotted to it. From some points of view, however, it has curious historical interest. Of the author, a clergyman in Yorkshire, very little seems to be known except that after serving Bacchus and Venus for a time, he consecrated his exiguous literary talent wholly to the cause of piety. He himself speaks of the favor he enjoyed under the good queen. Evidently he took an active part in aiding the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Some of the pieces he wrote in connection with this reform movement were republished, with other poems of his, as *An Entire Set of the Monitors Intended for the Promoting of Religion and Virtue, and suppressing of Vice and Immorality. In Several Poems on Divine Subjects. In pursuance of Her Majesty's Most Gracious Directions.*<sup>2</sup> Smith at least has the accidental distinction of being one of the first poets in England who made a serious endeavor to reproduce the high moral earnestness and religious spirit of *Paradise Lost*. The master himself would undoubtedly have dismissed this disciple as an unworthy conquest; long passages of the *Vision* are appropriated bodily from *Paradise Lost*, with only such modifications as were needed for the rhyme of heroic couplets. The imitator himself feared the charge of dishonesty.

But one great Shot I expect level'd at me, viz. the Character of a Plagiary, for taking some Hints from *Milton*, you will find them but few, which I freely own, and since *Dryden* hath done the same, and *Oldham* from *Ben Johnson*, I am not ashame'd of it, nor is it esteem'd a fault when acknowledged.

<sup>1</sup> *Influence of Milton*, pp. 95-96.

<sup>2</sup> See also Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and Halkett and Laing, *Dictionary*.

He was as firm as the author of *Order and Disorder* in discountenancing heathen fable.

In the Description of Hell, I omitted the River *Lethe*; for tho' Milton hath wonderful fine thoughts in his account thereof, yet it hath been such a constant Fiction of all the Heathen Poets that methinks 'tis better left out, for to be too fictitious in such solemn Matters, may Countenance Atheists and Libertines in their exposing the whole for a Fiction.

Smith may confidently be accepted as representing the attitude of the pious middle class of his time and much later. Dryden, Addison, and the other critics knew one *Paradise Lost*; John Dunton, Smith, and their bourgeois public, another. The scholarly set looked upon it as an example of epic art, comparable to the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, and in some ways superior; the religious zealots read it as they did Wesley's complete Bible in verse and numerous other paraphrases of the Scripture, admiring its soundness and regretting that it was at some points unsound. One phase of Milton's genius was not fully appreciated even by the learned, and it was completely lost upon the lower orders. The catholicity of mind which all but enabled the author of *Paradise Lost* to unite in a single system the conflicting ideals of the Renaissance and the Reformation, to strike a balance between beauty and duty, between the world of sense and of spirit, was perceived, if at all, very dimly. Consequently, there was no real conception of his most heroic moral achievement, the astonishing force of character he exhibited in rising superior to the close religious air he had breathed from childhood and constructing out of the ruins of the old dogma a philosophy of hope and cheer. The spirit of *Paradise Lost* was completely falsified in pious imitations. With a critical blindness difficult to comprehend, poets made Milton sponsor for a medieval gloominess of thought, a cheerless asceticism, and a narrow-minded dogmatism the very absence of which constitutes a marked difference between him and most of his religious contemporaries.

Smith is a shining example of this stupid interpretation. Conducted by his "Angel Tutelar," he makes a complete tour of the universe, notebook in hand. While of course he works up to the joys of heaven as the logical climax, the impressive fact is that all along the route he seizes upon every possible opportunity for religious terrorism. Where Milton is sublime in the depiction of horror, the little man is

merely grotesque. He specialized, as all of Milton's early contemporaries had done, in the grisly and disgusting. The first point of special interest in Smith's excursion is the Palace of Death—set aside exclusively for the wicked (there is another for the saints). The description, extending over five pages, begins:

A great but Ru'rous Palace to our Veiw  
Appear'd now, of a dark and sullen hue,  
With Ciprus compass'd and with baneful Yeugh;  
Night-Ravens croaking Death hover'd around,  
And boading Screech-Owls with their om'nous sound,  
All unclean Creatures which appear by Night,  
And take in Blood and Cruelty delight,  
From their Foul Dens and lurking Holes repair  
To fill with Howls and horrid Noise the Air.

The Palace's Slimey Walls were plaister'd 'ore  
With Faetid Earth, temper'd with Humane Gore,  
Each Corner had a Pyramid, whereon  
Was fixt for Ornament a Skelleton,  
Each brandishing a Bloody, Mortal Dart,  
And on the point a yet-warm, reeking Heart,  
The Battlement with Racks and Tortures crown'd,  
Which Dread and startling Horrour dealt around [pp. 16-17].

Another point of supreme interest in the itinerary is Hell. When the travelers approach,

Millions of Yells and Screams are heard around,  
Loud Bursts of Roarings joyn the dreadful Sound.  
Infinite Fiends their restless Toyls persue,  
Their Tortures ev'ry Moment to renew,  
But changing them to greater, still from less,  
Whilst ev'n the Change it self does give excess.  
Plunge them sometimes ten thousand Fathom deep  
In Lakes of liquid Fire; and then they'll heap  
Them Mountain-high upon a Burning Soil,  
Circled around with Flames to parch and broil:  
Whirlwinds of Fire then to another shore  
Of Frost and Cold Eternal waft them ore:  
In Mountains there of Ice to feel new Pain,  
They wedg them in; then fetch them back again  
To Flouds of boyling Sulphur, where they drench  
Them over in the suffocating Stench [pp. 32-33].

When the poet rises, as he does, for example, in Satan's address to his followers, the source of sublimity is amusingly evident.

Great Princes, Virtues, Dominations, Pow'rs;  
Once Potentates of Heav'n; no longer ours:  
Such the Almighty's Thunder prov'd, unknown,  
Till we attempted the Imperial Throne  
Of Heav'n. The great, yet Glorious was our Fall,  
Since we contended for no less than all.  
Yet all's not lost, we these Dominions have;  
Large Confines, which our Fiery Surges Lave.  
In Tortures exquisite, 'tis true we Reign,  
Involv'd in most Intollerable Pain:  
But more, Ambitious Minds like mine 'twill please  
To Reign in Torment, then to serve in Ease [pp. 48-49].

Milton himself was weak in the portrayal of heavenly scenes. Here his follower becomes hopelessly ludicrous. The fifth, and last, part of the poem is reserved for the Day of Judgment. It illustrates another general trait of religious poetry in the eighteenth century; the rage for depicting the final consummation was completely revived, and the poetical result is frequently a mélange of Milton and such pedestrian versifiers as the Earl of Stirling and Michael Wigglesworth.

If we considered Milton primarily with reference to the thought and mood embodied in the productions of his little imitators, we should see that he played the ironical part of sponsoring a vast deal of the most lugubrious poetry in the early eighteenth century. It became the fate of John Milton, through uninspired admirers of *Paradise Lost* as well as of *Il Penseroso*, to foster the morbid sentiments finally brought to a climax in graveyard poetry, and at least to encourage a taste for the very similar but more grotesque work of the Gothic romance. As some of the extracts given above sufficiently illustrate, this strain is painfully evident in Smith's poem, and it could be traced unbrokenly through the work of his successors who depended chiefly upon a reading public better instructed in piety than in poetics.

#### IV

The relation of John Dart's *Westminster-Abbey: A Poem* (1721) to Milton's work is slight but clear. It consists almost wholly in imitative

or copied phrases used in the introductory portion of the poem. Following a reference to the "painted landskip" comes the passage:

I pensive, to more solemn Scenes retire;  
 To the long sounded Isle, and hallow'd Quire:  
 Where moss-grown Turrets crown the Reverend Seat,  
 And Battlements with chattering Daws replete:  
 In holy Contemplation wrap'd, profound,  
 Indulg'd by the loud-pealing Organ's sound:  
 With Eye erect the figur'd Roof behold,  
 Rich with Intaglio, and bestreak'd with Gold;  
 While the gay-pictur'd Windows, richly dight,  
 Project a painted Shade and stain the Rays of Light.  
 My mind prepar'd by Images like these,  
 And lower'd to sober Thought by just Degrees;  
 Lead on my Muse, while trembling I essay,  
 To trace thy Footsteps thro' the cloyster'd Way, etc.

Though not written in octosyllabics, these lines contain obvious borrowings from *Il Pensero*. When it is recalled that the posthumous works of Parnell were not published until the very close of 1721, it will be seen that Dart's free use of the minor poetry is exceptional for the time of his writing.

The crepuscular melancholy of *Il Pensero* is an excellent preparative, and the borrowing was not that of a wholly unintelligent poet. *Westminster-Abbey* has either been completely neglected or unjustly abused. It is known, if at all, because it contains a eulogy of Chaucer and was written by a very faulty biographer of the great poet.<sup>1</sup> The *Dictionary of National Biography* considers Dart's work as a biographer ridiculous, his paraphrase of Tibullus wretched, his poetical description of the Abbey still worse. On the contrary, I hold that several passages in *Westminster-Abbey* would have done credit to poets of the time who stood much higher in public esteem than Dart. In moments of mere platitudinizing he repeats the *Sic transit gloria mundi* lesson with effective intonation and not without a poetic feeling for the right detail; he failed mainly because he lacked a delicate ear. The description of the hushed silence that follows a splendid funeral in the Abbey comes little short of true poetry, and is one of several

<sup>1</sup> Eleanor P. Hammond, *Chaucer, a Bibliographical Manual* (1908), pp. 37, 46-47, 468; Caroline Spurgeon, *Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion*, Part I, pp. 346, 358, 361, 363.

passages that suggest the influence of this poem upon Washington Irving's prose essay.

The hooded *Prebend* plods along before,  
And the last *Virger* claps the ringing Door.  
Should any Curious Thoughtful stay alone,  
In the dark Temple when the rest are gone,  
No Noise shall strike his Ear, no murmur'ring Breath,  
Nor one low Whisper in the Hall of Death;  
No sounding Foot to trample on the Floor,  
Nought but the striking Clock, that wakes the drowsy Hour [p. 55].

In spite of Beaumont's(?) beautiful poem on the tombs in Westminster,<sup>1</sup> in spite of an incessant stream of verse upon the vanity of life and the grim fact of mortality, English poets of death had still to learn how much more effective the *memento mori* warning would be if recited among the graves. The general neglect of Westminster as a *mise en scène* for such moralizing is somewhat strange. Dart was probably encouraged in his choice by Addison's essay in *Spectator*, No. 26 (1711), and a passage in Young's *The Last Day* (1713); but a sufficient explanation is the many hours he had spent among the solemn reminders of death in the preparation of a history of the Abbey. When his *Westmonasterium* was published, in 1723, the poem, which had been printed anonymously two years earlier, was included as a kind of introduction. Dart was both antiquarian and poet, and this combination of closely related interests prefigures the work of Thomas Warton and others whose antiquarian knowledge greatly enriched the stream of romanticism. As a moralist of the tombs he preceded the entire group of eighteenth-century writers usually designated as the "grave-yard school." Probably his example would have counted for more historically if his *Westminster-Abbey* had not been followed immediately by Parnell's *Night-Piece on Death* (December, 1721).<sup>2</sup> Most of the poetical frequenters of the grave preferred, instead, to muse with Parnell among the simple and quiet surroundings of the country churchyard, for the ivy-mantled tower, the owl, and the solemn yew-tree were a more effective setting than even the dusky splendors of the national mausoleum.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the authorship, see Norman Ault, *Elizabethan Lyrics* (1925), p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> If he exerted an exclusive influence, it is to be seen apparently in Thomas Fitzgerald's "Upon the Poets Corner in Westminster Abbey," a short piece included in *Poems on Several Occasions* (1733), p. 24. Cf. *Westminster Abbey: An Elegiac Poem. By the Revd. Thomas Maurice* (1784).

## V

Samuel Catherall, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, laments in the Preface to *An Essay on the Conflagration, in blank verse* (1720) that the sublime subject of his poem had not been treated by Milton or at least the ingenious Mr. Philips, who had designed such a work. The *Essay*, consisting of two books running to sixty-five pages, is patently Miltonic in its "sublimity," though written, as the poet modestly confesses, by a "Mean Follower of Great Milton."

A more interesting specimen is Catherall's *Cato Major* (1725). Catherall was moved to translate Cicero's *De Senectute* by what he very justly considered the faultiness of Sir John Denham's version (1648), of which Johnson afterward remarked that it possessed "neither the clearness of prose, nor the spriteliness of poetry."<sup>1</sup> Denham had used a very stiff couplet, a form thoroughly unsuited to the colloquial ease of Ciceronian dialogue. Catherall recognized the difficulty, and for his own translation attempted the freedom of Milton's blank verse. His *Cato Major* is really not a close translation, but a paraphrase, including additional material derived from Xenophon and Plato and for the Third Book a considerable part of Vergil's *Georgics*. His blank verse suffers, as most blank verse of the time does, from the contaminating influence of the couplet; but occasionally there is an approach to the model.

Like all his numerous predecessors, Catherall was anxious to prove that Cicero's views of religion and morality came surprisingly near the full truth of the Christian revelation. He therefore placed particular emphasis upon Cicero's reference to what Christians came to regard in Plato as a distinct prophecy of the Christ. In Catherall's translation Cato is made to say:

Plato! There is a Sacred *Page of Thine*,  
Full Fraught with *Supernatural Light*, which tells me,  
A *Prophet Greater*, than the World has seen,  
(If not a *God in Humane Shape*) e'er Long,  
Shall Deign to Visit, and Inform Mankind,  
Of what is after *Death*, and open *Truths*  
*Mysterious*, Hid from Un-inlighten'd Mortals! [p. 85]

Cato had long since become almost Christianized by translators and commentators. Catherall presents this virtuous heathen, here at the

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Denham," Chalmers' *English Poets*, VII, 227.

end of the poem, expressing Christian sentiments in phrases he has picked up from his reading of *Paradise Lost*!

Cato would Welcome the *Bless'd Deity*  
 To this vile *Earth*, in View of Happier Times:  
 Now Trust me, we are *Fall'n on Evil Days*,  
*And Evil Tongues*, with Darkness compass'd round;  
 And if a Radiant *Angel*, or a *God*,  
 Can mend the vicious Currents of this World,  
 'Tis Well, etc. [p. 86].

He is familiar also with "profoundest Hell" and other phrases from Milton's epic. Apparently, however, Milton must share honors with Shakespeare. Cato knew *Hamlet* as well as *Paradise Lost*.

As on the Verge of the *Next Life* I stand,  
 I see the Voyage Pointed out for *Cato*,  
 And Look beyond the Scanty Bounds of *Time*,  
 Into a Distant *Country*, from whose *Borne*,  
 No Traveller would ever seek Return:  
 There, all the various Shocks, that *Flesh* is Heir to,  
 Shall Find a Period, which I wish *Devoutly*! [p. 83]

## VI

It is well known that the publication of Thomson's *Winter* (1726) marked the beginning of a new chapter in English poetry. Blank verse had had numerous advocates, but the cause was not really won until the Scottish poet, newly arrived in England, had given a fuller demonstration of the possibilities of Milton's line than any previous imitators had achieved. He was fully as influential, also, upon the content and mood of poetry. Apparently, the first English poet to follow Thomson's example was William Bowman, whose *Poems on Several Occasions* was published in 1727.

At this time still a student at Cambridge, the young author had formed a lofty conception of the art he practiced very imperfectly. We are told in the Preface:

Poetry has this Advantage peculiar to it self, that while all other Arts and Sciences are limited and confin'd within certain Bounds which they cannot exceed, this alone admits of no Limitation; all Nature submits to its Jurisdiction, and every thing is a Subject for *Verse*. The *Muses* range free and uncontroll'd o'er all the boundless and incomprehensible Tracts of *Eternity* and *Immensity*, pierce even to the tremendous Throne of the *Almighty*, and down again to the gloomy Regions of *Darkness*.

Having urged this thesis at length, he proceeds to lament the general indifference of his fellows.

Must it not then seem strange that so glorious a Science shou'd be so miserably neglected and abandon'd in this famous *University of Cambridge?* (Otherwise the most illustrious *Seminary of Learning in the World.*) *Philosophy, Divinity,* and the other grave Parts of Literature have so entirely here engross'd the Study of the whole Body, that *Poetry* can scarce find Admittance, even at the most idle and unemploy'd Hours.

This he suspects may be due to the "Dullness and Foggyness of the Clime, which generally disposes its Inhabitants to a natural Gravity, and disagreeable Melancholy, or to an Abhorrence, conceiv'd from the Corruption of *Poetry* in these latter Days." Whatever the explanation, the youthful undergraduate was so humiliated by the "visible Diminution and Decay" of poetry that he came forward in vindication of his Alma Mater.

There is a clear line of cleavage in his collection of verse. Two of the pieces are thoroughly pseudo-classic—*Jesus Grove*, a long descriptive poem in couplets written in avowed imitation of *Cooper's Hill*, and *The Lover*, evidently inspired largely by a study of Waller's addresses to Saccharissa. Most of the other efforts are distinctly of the new school. Milton is honored twice. A sufficient idea of Bowman's command of blank verse may be had from the concluding lines of *Part of the 7th Chapter Job paraphrased. An Imitation of Milton's Stile:*

Oft have I sought my solitary Bed  
With weary Limbs, and on my downy Couch  
Repos'd my troubled Members; if perchance  
The healing Balm of Comfort might be found  
In silken Slumbers; but ev'n there, O God,  
Thy vengeful Hand, with terrifying Dreams  
Torments me, and with Visions, horrid Shock!  
Pursues my frightened Soul; ah! let me then  
To the dark Caverns of the *Grave* descend  
In everlasting *Night*; for, oh! I loath  
The hated Light, and cannot think to live  
For ever; *Lord*, thy mighty *Arm* withdraw,  
That holds me up in Life, and let me be,  
As I have never been; for all my Days  
Are nothing, and my Years are Vanity.

The *pièce de résistance* of the entire volume is *Night. An Imitation of Milton*, which extends through thirty-nine quarto pages. The title itself is another illustration of the general tendency to associate Milton with darkness and gloom, explained partly no doubt by the poet's blindness and the pathetic passage at the beginning of the Third Book of *Paradise Lost*. This supplied the young poet of night the principal hint for his opening apostrophe.

Hail dreary Shades! hail melancholy Gloom  
Of *Night* tremendous! with Eternity  
Coeval, and the first primordial Shock  
Of Embryon *Atoms*, in Confusion hurl'd  
Thro' *Chaos'* dark Domain; who yet retains  
Divided Empire with the *Day*, and rules  
Each Hemisphere alternate; while I sing  
Thy Reign audacious, and presumptuous stray  
Along thy dusky, solitary Paths  
Cheerless and blind, each interposing Cloud  
A while withdraw, and from the studded Roof  
Of Heav'n's Expanse, let ev'ry Star benign  
It's friendly Aid afford; the silver Moon  
Pale Regent of the Night, that solemn moves  
High in her silent Orb, nocturnal Sun,  
Direct my wand'ring Steps; and may the Verse  
Not faint beneath the Terrors of my Theme.  
And now that Shades and ever-during Dark  
Mantling surround me, thou celestial *Light*,  
Shine inward, and with pervious Eye disperse  
Mists comfortless and dull, and in each Pow'r  
The Mind irradiate, that, with sprightly Note,  
Of *Darkness* I may sing, and horrid Night.

The body of the poem is purely descriptive, and most of the pictures are from simple country life. If we recall that Thomson's *Winter* (1726) was followed the next year by *Summer*, of which there were two editions in 1727, and that *Autumn* and *Spring* were of later date, we can easily understand why Bowman made a close study, in 1727, of a summer night and a winter night and said nothing of the other seasons. Most of his Milton he takes second-hand from Thomson. There is a fusion of the two influences in the following passage from the first description:

Sober *Twilight* hastens on  
 In russet Liv'ry clad; now from the Fields  
 Repair the jocund Plowmen, and to Meads  
 Refreshing, and transparent Streams drive on  
 The lowing Oxe, weary and dry; the Swain  
 His woolly Charge in careful Durance pens  
 Rejoicing; with his Dog, faithful Compeer  
 Whistling deceives the Way, and stalking on  
 Hastens to Supper.

The imitation of *Il Penseroso* is flagrant in the first lines; the latter part of the description was suggested by one in *Summer*, beginning:

His folded flock secure, the shepherd home  
 Hies, merry-hearted; and by turns relieves  
 The ruddy milk-maid of her brimming pail [ll. 1664-66].

A few lines below, Thomson is describing the evening ramble of the rustic lovers:

Onward they pass, o'er many a panting height,  
 And valley sunk and unfrequented; where  
 At fall of eve the fairy people throng,  
 In various game and revelry to pass  
 The summer-night, as village-stories tell [ll. 1670-74].

This hint gave Bowman his best passage:

O'er the smooth Green the gliding *Fairies* dance  
 Their Moon-light *Rounds*, and revel all the Night  
 Intent on Mirth, which some belated *Swain*  
 Affrighted oft has seen, near a fair Fount,  
 Or Forest's Side.

But this means only that the Cambridge poet has expanded Thomson by going to the description in *Paradise Lost* (I, 782-83) of those "faery elves"

Whose midnight revels, by a forest side  
 Or fountain some belated peasant sees.

By this comparative process one could account for most that is readable in *Night*; what is not found in Thomson will be found in Thomson's model, frequently where the poet of the *Seasons* himself has been gathering flowers. But it is Thomson who furnishes the principal material—pictures of peasant life, rural sports, domestic animals, and

storms. From the same provenance came the tyro's apostrophes to the Deity and his evident bias toward the religion of nature.

Bowman illustrates anew the truism that the genetic forces of literature are fully disclosed only in the minor writers. Although he has been completely overlooked, I doubt if any other poet of this transitional period exposes the process of metabolism quite so nakedly. His clumsy borrowing reveals his own methods and not infrequently strips the mask from Thomson's more artful appropriation. In his feeble poem may be detected some of the main components of the romantic revival and the sources of inspiration. He proclaims himself a follower of Milton. More truly, he may be called the earliest-known disciple of Thomson, to whom he probably owed his enthusiasm for Milton, as several other poets of the time did. He was more deeply nocturnal than either of his models. His *Night* is at times strangely anticipative of the humorless and ponderous solemnity of Young's *Night Thoughts*. In several passages devoted to night-birds, tombs, churchyard ghosts, and other objects of *Schrecklichkeit* can be seen also the shadow of the approaching Gothic romance.

## VII

The author of *Paradise Lost* had the doubtful honor, in 1729, of being imitated in *Geneva: A Poem, in Miltonic Verse*, by Alexander Blunt, Distiller. The drinking of gin by the lower classes had led to such general demoralization that the evil was made the subject of a presentment by the Grand Jury of Middlesex February 12, 1729. This roused the distiller to a defense of his calling, and for the purpose he selected blank verse. The device of an imaginary trial was apparently suggested by the council of the fallen angels, but the parallel is not close, and the performance may be dismissed as a minor curiosity.

## VIII

*An Essay upon Milton's Imitations of the Ancients, in his Paradise Lost. With some Observations on the Paradise Regain'd* was published anonymously in 1741. The advertisement points out that Addison had contemplated a treatment of the same subject (*Spectator*, 321), and laments that he never carried out the design. The foundation of this present canon is laid in the opening passage:

Aristotle ascribes the origin of *Poetry* to the Pleasure Mankind takes in *Imitations*, which distinguishes us from all other Creatures, and makes us Lovers not only of this *Art*, but *Painting* and *Sculpture*. This Pleasure arises from the comparison the Mind makes betwixt the Imitation and the Thing imitated: For Example, in a Picture or Statue, from comparing them with the Original; and, in Poetry, from comparing the Descriptions with the Objects themselves [pp. 3-4].

Of this familiar aesthetic principle the critic makes no use whatever except as a point of departure. If the reader finds pleasure in comparing the poetical imitation with its original object, will he not be delighted also by comparing the imitation made by one poet of another? Indeed, this second kind of pleasure is greater than the first. "When one good Poet imitates another, we have a double Pleasure; the first proceeding from comparing the Description with its Object; and the second, from comparing the one Description with the other from which it was imitated" (p. 4). The principle applies likewise to individual similes and other minute details as well as to the whole picture. Also the aesthetic pleasure increases geometrically the further we proceed from the initial literary source. Here we have the real explanation of Milton's greatness. "When a Poet imitates a Description from another Poet, which very Description had been imitated from a Third, our Pleasure is still the greater; therefore, in this Respect, the Imitations in *Milton* are beyond those in *Virgil*; because he has imitated some Places of *Virgil* which are Imitations of *Homer*" (p. 4). This article of the creed called for a slight modification. It is explained that, while the merit of the original description consists primarily in the exactness of reproduction, this closeness is not always to be applauded in "secondary imitations"; here "a considerable Alteration from the Original has a very agreeable Effect" (p. 5).

All this sounds like a parody, like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the classical theory. We have already seen a *poeta minimus* inadvertently betraying the secrets of his betters. Precisely in the same way this criticaster embarrasses the critic. He is merely pursuing to a logical and pedantic conclusion a theory of literature which had now been in nominal operation for the better part of a century. It seems never to have crossed the mind of this Aristotelian successor of Addison that readers do not ordinarily sit down to *Paradise Lost* flanked by

Homer on one side and Vergil on the other. Without these aids to appreciation, their enjoyment would theoretically be reduced to an unscholarly minimum.

Declaration of critical principle occupies a very small part of the sixty-two-page critique. Most of it is devoted to Milton's analogues in Vergil and Homer and a comparative study of the three poets. The author's talent as a source-hunter is not to be despised, for he added numerous examples to the list compiled by Addison, Bentley, and others. Almost his invariable conclusion is that Milton has improved upon the ancients. This constitutes the glory of *Paradise Lost*. "I must observe," he says, "That, as *Virgil* found it such an immense Labour to improve the Verses of *Homer*; of Consequence it must have been a much harder Task for *Milton* to improve those very ones of *Virgil*: A Task never one but he was equal for" (p. 11). If he is severe upon Milton at all, it is in connection with the poet's habit of punning and an occasional lapse into burlesque or drollery—faults, says the admirer, not to be condoned by his "excessive fondness for *Homer*" (p. 51).

The discussion of *Paradise Regained* is merely a brief postscript directed against the general contempt. He admits that *Paradise Regained* is greatly inferior to *Paradise Lost*, but considers it, with this exception, the noblest composition since the time of Vergil. The criticism here relates principally to the moral of the poem since the hunt for classical sources and parallels was less profitable. It is interesting to see that the writer has formed his critical ideas partly upon the suggestions of Shaftesbury (p. 57), who is quoted against Christian poems employing invocations to pagan muses; but, on the whole, we owe the essay chiefly to Addison's comments upon the principles of Aristotle's *Poetics*.

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## VALENTIN ICKELSAMER

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Valentin Ickelsamer gilt als der erste deutsche Grammatiker. Schon bei seinen Zeitgenossen. "Wer hat vor Valentin Ickelsamer je ain teutsche Grammatica gelernet? kainer!" ruft Ortolph Fuchssberger von Tittmoning<sup>1</sup> in seiner zuerst 1533 in Augsburg von Alexander Weissenhorn gedruckten "Dialectica" aus. In der Tat ist das Werkchen, das Ickelsamer diesen Ruhm eingebracht hat, betitelt: *Ein Teütsche Grammatica*. Und in der Einleitung schreibt er verheissungsvoll:

Wer aber meinet, es sey kein Grammatica, die nit alles kinderwerck lere, das in der Lateinischen Grammatic ist, Darzuo sag ich, das der uns noch lang kein Teütsche Grammatic geben oder beschriben hat, der ein Lateinische für sich nimbt und verteütscht sie, wie ich jr etwa wol gesehen, dann der schafft mit vil arbeit wenig nutz, der die teütschen leren will, wie sie sagen vnd reden sollen: der Hans, des Hansen etc., Ich schreib, ich hab geschriven etc. Das lernen die kinder besser von der muoter dann auss der Grammatic.

Aber was er dann an Stelle der hier so verächtlich beiseite geschobenen Flexionslehre bietet, geht über Lautlehre, Leseunterricht und ein bischen Orthographie, Etymologie und Interpunktions kaum hinaus. Es fehlt nicht an Ansätzen zu weiteren Ausführungen, an Hinweisen auf verwandte oder entgegengesetzte Erscheinungen im Lateinischen, Griechischen und Hebräischen, auf dialektische Eigentümlichkeiten, vor allem nicht an Bemerkungen, die uns zeigen, dass Ickelsamer in das Wesen der deutschen Sprache eingedrungen war, mit der Volksseele Fühlung hatte, und recht wohl wusste, was eine lateinische Grammatik leisten müsste. Gerade die oben citierte Stelle zeigt recht deutlich, dass Ickelsamer ein Organ für die verschiedene Struktur der lateinischen und der deutschen Sprache hatte, und es als einen Irrtum erkannt hat, eine deutsche Grammatik durch Verdeutschung des Donat oder in Anlehnung an diesen fabrizieren zu wollen. Er schreibt an einer anderen Stelle:

<sup>1</sup> Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, VIII, 174 f.  
[MODERN PHILOLOGY, February, 1927]      341

Ich las einmal einen brieff, den eines Grossmechtigen Fürsten Cantzler an des Stifts Thuomherren zuo Erfurt geschrieben het, begerende an sie, das man die gestorbe Fürstin mitt Vigilien vnd Seelampten begehen vnd besingen vnd vnder der singenden Mess (dise wort brauchet der Cantzler) ein offenlich vermanung zuo dem volck thuon wocle etc. Da lachet ich vnd gedacht, wie die Mess singen muest, dann dieses teütsch Particium singend heysst so vil, das die Mess muesst singen, da er gesagt solt haben: vnder der gesungenen Mess, vnd solt gewisst haben, das dieses Particium Preteritum vil mals also vergangen vnd geschehen heysst, das doch noch gegenwärtig im werck ist vnd jetzt erst geschicht. Also, halt ich, muesst ein Teütscher Grammaticus die teütschen zuo schuol fueren, Naemlich, das er jn die rechten art vnd weiss der teütschen woerter und rede auss oder nach künstlicher vnd rechter anleytung der rede teyl mit jren accidentien erklaeret vnd zuo verstehn geb. Welcher aber ein lateinische Grammatica schlecht teütschen wil, was sie im latein gibt, des grammatica würdt den Teütschen seltzamer vnd vnbekandter sein dann ein Lateinische oder villeicht ein Chalecutische.

Aber das Programm, das Ickelsamer hier aufstellt ("die teütschen zuo schuol furen") hat er nicht erfüllt, seine *Teütsche Grammatica* ist eigentlich nichts viel anderes als sein vorhergehendes Werkchen, das trotz des anderen Titels fast denselben Inhalt hat: "Die rechte weis, aufs kürzist lesen zu lernen." Mit ihm ist Ickelsamer epochemachend geworden. Er hat nämlich für den ersten Leseunterricht eine neue Methode, die Lautiermethode, aufgebracht, bei der nicht mit dem mechanischen Einpauken der Buchstaben der Anfang gemacht wird, sondern damit, die Wörter in Silben und diese in Laute zu zerlegen und letztere als Naturlaute zu erklären und in kurzweiliger und vergnüglicher Weise einzuprägen.

Das *f* würdt geblasen durch die zene, auff die vndern lebtzen gelegt, vnd stimmet, wie nass oder gruen holtz am feüre seüt. Das *g*, so die zung das hinderst des guomens beruert, wie die Gens pfeyfen, wenns einen anlauffen zuo beissen etc. Das *h* ist ein scharpfer athem, wie man in die hende haucht. . . . Das *r* ist der Hundts büchstab, wann er zornig die zene blickt vnd nerret, so die zung kraus zittert.

Die Buchstaben werden also von Anfang an als Zeichen für Laute erfasst. Als Mittel, die Kinder die Buchstaben in Verbindung mit den durch sie bezeichneten Lauten zu lehren, empfiehlt er die Benutzung von Bildern mit den Tieren, die die entsprechenden Laute hervorbringen, oder mit Vorgängen, bei denen der betreffende Laut hörbar wird; *r* z. B. soll durch ein mit diesem Buchstaben bezeichnetes und

einen knurrenden Hund darstellendes Bildchen eingeprägt werden. Diese Idee ist von Zeitgenossen Ickelsamers, besonders von Jacob Griessbeutel—er ist identisch mit dem gleichnamigen Prediger in Augsburg, der sich als erster dort am 26. August 1523 verheiratete—in seinem zuerst wohl 1533 in Nürnberg bei Kunigunde Hergottin erschienenen *Stimmenbüchlein*,<sup>1</sup> begierig aufgegriffen worden.

Als Begründer der Lautiermethode wird gewöhnlich der 1850 in Gorkau in Schlesien verstorbene Heinrich Stephani gennant.<sup>2</sup> Er hat durch seine *Fibel* (1802), seinen *Kurzen Unterricht in der gründlichsten und leichtesten Methode Kindern das Lesen zu lehren* (1803), und seiner *Stehenden Wandfibel* (1804) der bis dahin immer noch vorherrschenden Buchstabiermethode den Todesstoss versetzt, war sich im übrigen aber recht wohl bewusst, dass er nur einer schon seit längerer Zeit im Vordringen begriffenen Reformrichtung zum endlichen Siege verholfen habe, weshalb er auch die Bitte aussprach, die neue Methode nicht nach ihm zu benennen.

Die *Rechte Weis, aufs kürzist lesen zu lernen* ist wohl zum ersten Male "Gedruckt zu Erfurdt, durch Ioannem Loersfelt, zum halben radt, ynn der Meyergassen" erschienen (Exemplar im Germanischen Museum in Nürnberg). Eine vermehrte Ausgabe druckte 1534 in Marburg Franciscus Rhode<sup>3</sup> (Exemplar in Berlin, Kgl. Bibliothek). Von der deutschen Grammatik veranstaltete 1882 H. Fechner nach dem Exemplar der wohl ersten Ausgabe, das aus F. L. K. Weigands Nachlass in seinen Besitz übergegangen war, einen Neudruck.<sup>4</sup> Von einer anderen, um ein *kurzes Lesebüchlein* am Schluss vermehrten Ausgabe haben Dr. Kohler in München 1881 und Joh. Müller in Plauen 1882 Neudrucke besorgt<sup>5</sup> (Exemplare in München, Universitätsbibliothek, und Wien, Hofbibliothek). Eine dritte Ausgabe trägt das Impressum: Nürnberg, Joh. Petrejus 1537 (Exemplare in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, und Wolfenbüttel, Herzogliche Bibliothek). Die von Fechner neugedruckte Ausgabe kann, da

<sup>1</sup> Neudruck, "Zwickauer Facsimiledrucke," Nr. 15 (1912).

<sup>2</sup> Vergleiche über ihn *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXVI, 90–93.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. A. von Dommer, *Die ältesten Drucke aus Marburg in Hessen* (Marburg 1892), S. 38, Nr. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Vier seltene Schriften des 16. Jahrhunderts*, herausgegeben von Heinrich Fechner. Berlin 1882. Vorausgeht eine Abhandlung von Friedrich Ludwig Karl Weigand über Valentin Ickelsamer.

<sup>5</sup> Weigand, S. 35 f.

des Beatus Rhenanus 1531 in Basel erschienene *Rerum Germanicarum libri tres* und die von Peter Jordan in Mainz verfasste und 1533 gedruckte *Laienschul* citiert werden, nicht vor 1531–33 herausgekommen sein. Vielleicht sind jedoch die Stellen, an denen die beiden Werke citiert werden, spätere Zusätze und ist von der deutschen Grammatik schon 1527 eine—längst verschollene—Ausgabe erschienen. Luther schreibt nämlich am 12. August dieses Jahres an Justus Menius, damals Prediger in Erfurt, in Bezug auf Ickelsamer, damals, wie wir noch sehen werden, Schulmeister in Erfurt: "Miror, quid de grammatica sua scribas, nam ad me nihil horum est delatum, nec resciscere possum, ubi sit, aut quis excedat, quare nihil possum tibi super hac respondere."<sup>1</sup> Näher liegt aber doch die Annahme, dass Luther mit "grammatica" Ickelsamers *Rechte Weis* meine, von der die vermutliche Urausgabe von Johannes Loersfelt in Erfurt gedruckt ist. Dieser druckte 1523 und 1524 in der Pergamentergasse zum Färbefass, 1525 im Hause "Zu der Sonnen bei St. Michael," 1525 "Auf dem wenigen Markt zum halben Rade" oder auch "Zum halben Rad in der Meimergasse"; 1527 zog er nach Marburg.<sup>2</sup> Da seine ersten Marburger Drucke am 30. Mai und 22. Juni 1527 erschienen sind,<sup>3</sup> hat er während der ersten vier Monate des Jahres 1527 wohl noch in Erfurt in der Meimergasse gedruckt. Dürfen wir die Stelle in dem Lutherbrief auf die *Rechte Weis* beziehen, dann würde sich das erste Drittel des Jahres 1527 als Erscheinungszeit der *Rechte Weis* ergeben.

Diesem Schriftchen ist angehängt *Ein christlich Gespräch zweier Kinder*—so die Angabe auf dem Titelblatt—oder: "eine göttliche Lehr, von Jugend auf sich zu erkennen und gottselig zu leben, den Kindern auf Frage und Antwort gestellet"—so der Untertitel.<sup>4</sup> Zwei Mädchen, Margareth und Anna, unterreden sich hier von der Erbsünde, Wiedergeburt, Versöhnung, und Gotteskindschaft. Das Gespräch ist zunächst wohl als Lesestück gedacht, weiter aber auch als Unterlage für den Religionsunterricht und zum Auswendiglernen.

<sup>1</sup> Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, VI, 73.

<sup>2</sup> Joh. Luther, *Beiträge zum Bibliotheks- und Buchwesen Paul Schwenke gewidmet* (Berlin, 1913), S. 185 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dommer, S. 1 f., Nr. 1, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dieses Gespräch ist abgedruckt bei F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion I* (Berlin 1900), S. 138–42.

Dieser Zweck steht offenbar in vorderster Linie bei einem Schriftchen Ickelsamers, zu dem er das Widmungsschreiben in Rothenburg o.T. am 25. Mai 1525 unterzeichnet hat: *Ein ernstlich vnd wunderlich Gespräch zweier Kinder mit einander, darin angezeigt wird der grosse Ernst, den Gott in der Schrift mit den Kindern zu haben befohlen hat!* (Exemplare in Dessau, Fürst Georgsbibliothek, und Weimar, Grossherzogliche Bibliothek). Hier unterreden sich ein grösserer und ein kleinerer Junge, ein Schusters- und ein Feldhüterssohn. Es wird besonders die Notwendigkeit eines Religionsunterrichts schon an Kindern betont, da Gott sich auch schon um die Kinder bekümmerne, bösen Kindern zürne und sie strafe, und da andererseits die Eltern vielfach ihre Erziehungspflicht vernachlässigten. Der Gang der Unterweisung ist dann ungefähr derselbe wie in jenem späteren Gespräch der beiden Mägdelein. Eine religionspädagogische Schrift Ickelsamers, die 1529 "zu Erfordt zum Schwartzen Horn, vor der kremer Brucken," d.h. von Matthes Maler gedruckt wurde, ist leider seit 1768 ganz verschwunden: *Vom wandel vnd leben der Christen in gotlicher forchte vnd guten wercken, welchs leider noch so wenig beweysen, Darinne aber ein frommer gotfurchtiger vater seine kinder unterweiset nachzuwollen dem exemplel des kinds Jesu. . . .*<sup>2</sup> In der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha, wohin eine Spur wies, war sie nicht zu finden. Auch eine von dem Berliner Auskunftsgebäude der deutschen Bibliotheken vor einigen Jahren erlassene Umfrage hatte keinen Erfolg.

Ickelsamers in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525 erschienenes Erstlingswerk: *Klag etlicher Brüder* (zwei Ausgaben: 1.=Weller, *Repertorium typographicum* Nr. 3440 vorhanden in Basel, Universitätsbibl., München Universitätsbibl., Stuttgart, Königliche öffentliche Bibliothek, Weimar; 2. *Clag etlicher brieder . . .* vorhanden in München, Hof und Staatsbibliothek, Wolfenbüttel) besprechen wir am besten im Zusammenhang mit der Lebensgeschichte unseres Autors, zu der wir jetzt übergehen, nachdem wir seine schriftstellerische Tätigkeit gemustert und das Bibliographische erledigt haben.

Der Name Ickelsamer oder Ickelschamer weist darauf hin, dass die Familie, der er angehörte, aus einem der beiden kleinen Dörfer

<sup>1</sup> Abgedruckt bei Cohrs, S. 132-38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 131.

Ober- und Unterickelsheim im Bezirksamt Uffenheim im bayrischen Regierungsbezirk Mittelfranken stammte. In der Nähe von Uffenheim oder Rothenburg o.T. wird er geboren sein. Als "Valentinus Ickelsamer de Rotenburgia" wurde er im Winter 1518-19 in Erfurt immatrikuliert, wo er auch zwei Jahre später zum baccalaureus artium promoviert wurde. In Wittenberg setzte er seine Studien fort, doch suchen wir seinen Namen im Album dieser Hochschule vergebens. Im Frühjahr 1525 erscheint er zum ersten Male in amtlicher Stellung in Rothenburg, als "teutscher Schulmeister," d.h. als Leiter einer Schule, in der Kinder aus den kleinen Bürgers- und Handwerkerkreisen im Lesen, Schreiben, Rechnen, and etwa noch in Religion unterrichtet wurden.<sup>1</sup> Daneben predigte er aber auch unter grossem Zulauf "bei den Barfüssern in dem rebental" (Refectorium). In dieser Stellung veröffentlichte er in der ersten Hälfte des März 1525, wie schon erwähnt, sein Erstlingswerk *Klag etlicher Brüder an alle Christen von der grossen Ungerechtigkeit und Tyrannie, so Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt jetzo von Luther zu Wittenberg geschieht.*<sup>2</sup> Das interessante Schriftchen rückt Ickelsamer sogleich in ein ganz bestimmtes Licht. Karlstadt war Mitte September 1524 auf Luthers Betreiben aus Kursachsen vertrieben worden und war Ende des Jahres in Rothenburg angelangt. Hier wurde er trotz des am 27. Januar 1525 vom Rate gegen ihn erlassenen Ausweisungsbefehls bis zum 26. März von seinen Freunden verborgen gehalten, worauf er wieder frei hervortreten und in der Pfarrkirche und im Barfüsserkloster predigen durfte; Ende Mai musste er die Stadt verlassen. Ickelsamer erweist sich als Anhänger Karlstadts und des von diesem vertretenen "laienchristlichen Puritanismus." Es war zunächst wohl einfach das traurige Schicksal des von Wittenberg her ihm bekannten Mannes, das ihn trieb, öffentlich für ihn einzutreten, Mitleid und Gerechtigkeitsgefühl veranlassten ihn, sich des vertriebenen, unstät umherirrenden, beschimpften Karlstadt anzunehmen. Er will seine Streitschrift als eine "brüderliche Ermahnung an D. M. Luther und andere dergleichen, so wider jemand ihre Sach allein mit Scheltworten ausrichten," angesehen haben. Er will nicht heimtückisch gegen

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Otto Mayer in *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte*, IX (1900), 27.

<sup>2</sup> Neudruck, *Aus dem Kampf der Schwärmer gegen Luther. Drei Flugschriften (1524. 1525) herausgegeben von Ludwig Enders.* Halle a.S. 1893. Vgl. ferner Hermann Barge, *Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt*, II (Leipzig, 1905), S. 318 ff.

Luther wöhnen und intrigieren: "Sollst wissen, dass ich also gesinnet bin, dass ich dir, was mir an dir fehlet, ebenso kühn und kecklich ins Angesicht zu sagen wagen würde, als kecklich ich dieses Urteil von dir unter die Leut lass gehen." Aber dann verfällt er doch in eine recht leidenschaftliche Tonart, wenn er Luther vorwirft, dass er in seinem trotzigen Büchlein wider die himmlischen Propheten seinen Privathass gegen Karlstadt habe ausströmen lassen, wie er überhaupt "ein zornig, unchristlich, bitter Herz und gar ein hitzig, reüterisch Geblüt habe." Er habe ihm einst in Wittenberg zu Füssen gesessen und ihn lieb gehabt. Er habe ihm zugejubelt, als er gegen den König von England und andere dergleichen unchristliche Bischöfe geschrieben, obgleich er schon damals sich des Verdachts nicht habe erwehren können, dass Luther weniger aus Liebe zur göttlichen Wahrheit sie angegriffen habe, als, um sein Mütchen an ihnen zu kühlen. Dann hätten Luthers reaktionäre Massregeln, besonders die Wiedereinführung der Beichte, ihn stutzig gemacht. Vollends aber habe er sich von Luther abgestossen gefühlt, als dieser sich von der Volksmenge, von der er sich doch erst habe emportragen und bejubeln und decken lassen, zurückgezogen und mit den "grossen Hansen," den Mächtigen dieser Welt, zu paktieren angefangen habe, als die Lutherischen Prediger in Behaglichkeit und Bequemlichkeit und sittliche Gleichgültigkeit und Laxheit verfallen seien und über sittliche Verfehlungen, ja offbare Sünden und Laster in bedenklicher Nachgiebigkeit menschlicher Schwäche gegenüber ein Mäntelchen gebreitet hätten. Ickelsamer ist Sprecher einer grossen Gemeinde, die freilich mundtot gemacht wurde und von der nur wenige Aeusserungen bis zu uns herüberklingen, wenn er ausruft: "Wir sprechen: Wo nicht christliches Glaubens Werk folgen, da sei der Glaub weder recht gepredigt noch angenommen, und sagen von euch, was lang Rom hat müssen hören: wie näher Wittenberg, je böser Christen." Zum Schlusse geht Ickelsamer wieder auf Luthers Vorgehen gegen Karlstadt ein und wirft dem Reformator nochmals in erregter Rede seine Schmäh- und Verfolgungssucht, Rechthaberei und Herrschafts- und Lieblosigkeit vor. Man hat in lutherischen Kreisen diesen Angriff Ickelsamers nicht vergessen.

Die folgende Schrift: *Ein ernstlich und wunderlich Gespräch*, ist der Form nach ganz friedlich und unpolemisch, verrät aber auch wie-

der den Anhänger Karlstadts und des laienchristlichen Puritanismus, besonders an den Stellen, die von der Notwendigkeit der aus einem lebendigen Glauben hervorgehenden Werke der Liebe und Barmherzigkeit, über die Abscheulichkeit lieblosen Polterns und Schimpfens und blindwütigen Zufahrens Irrenden gegenüber handeln. Uebrigens sind die beiden Kinder, die in dem Gespräche sich unterhalten, Kinder bekannter Rothenburger Persönlichkeiten und Kinder aus Ickelsamers Schule; wenigstens kommt der Vater des Jacob Krebs, der Lutzhüter-Feldhüter Hans Krebs zweimal in Thomas Zweifels *Rothenburger Chronik* vor.

Als Ickelsamer am 25. Mai 1525 das Manuscript zum *Gespräch* an den Buchführer Kaspar Weydin in Nürnberg<sup>1</sup> zur Drucklegung sandte, hatte sich in Rothenburg die Aufregung, die hier durch den Bauernaufstand hervorgerufen worden war, gerade gelegt.<sup>2</sup> Am 21. März waren die Bauern der Umgegend aufgestanden, am 24. hatte die Bürgerschaft unter Beiseiteschiebung des alten Rats einen Ausschuss gewählt, der alsbald das Regiment an sich riss und in Verhandlungen mit den Bauern eintrat. Zu den 12 Mitgliedern desselben gehörte auch unser Ickelsamer, der indes bei den Verhandlungen eine untergeordnete Rolle als Protokollführer spielte. Er wurde daher auch, als im Mai und in den ersten Tagen des Juni die Bauernhaufen durch den Truchsess Georg von Waldburg vernichtet worden waren, und die Kreise der Rothenburger Bürgerschaft, die mit den Aufrührern sympathisiert hatten, sich ducken mussten, als der alte Rat wieder eingesetzt war und—Ende Juni—ein Strafgericht über die Rädelshörer abgehalten wurde, zwar mit anderen ausgewiesen, aber mit der niedrigsten Geldstrafe—20 Gulden—belegt. Er liess sich nun Erfurt, wo er von seiner Studentenzeit her Bekannte und Gönner haben mochte, als Schulmeister nieder und liess hier seine *rechte Weis* und die verloren gegangene Schrift *Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen* drucken. Mit Luther hatte er sich ausgesöhnt. Justus Menius hatte das vermittelt. Luther schrieb diesem am 12. August 1527—die folgenden Worte gehen den schon oben aus diesem Briefe angeführten über Ickelsamers *Grammatica* voraus—“Icolsamero scripsisse, sed

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. über ihn Karl Schottenloher, *Die Entwicklung der Buchdruckerkunst in Franken—1530*. Würzburg, 1910 (“Neujahrsblätter,” herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte, 5), S. 32, 50.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. zum Folgenden: Weigand, S. 17 ff., und Barge, S. 337 ff.

capitis infirmitas non sinit me occupari studiis, dices tamen ei me ignovisse ei omnia, etiam antequam rogaret, sicut et omnibus inimicis et ignoscet et misereor, ut et mihi Christus et Pater iustus ignoscat et misereatur."

Elend und beständig drohende Fährlichkeit und Drangsal hatten wohl den armen Schulmeister mürbe gemacht.

Auf die Dauer gönnten ihm jedoch seine Feinde keine Ruhe. Anfang 1530 war er als Schulmeister nach Arnstadt übergesiedelt. Da erging unterm 27. März ein Schreiben des Kurfürsten Johann von Sachsen an den Grafen Günter zu Schwarzburg,<sup>1</sup> er solle Ickelsamer, der wegen seiner schwärmerischen Umtreibe und seines "schmehebuchs" (der *Klag etlicher Brüder*) von früher her schwer verdächtig sei und jetzt zu Arnstadt eine Schule errichtet habe, "vielleicht in gemut und maynung, seinen Schwirmer geist vnd falsche auffururische und verfurliche Lehre des orts, wie er dan an andern enden vnd sunderliche zu Erfurt in neulicher zeit auch gethan, an tag zu geben und ausszubreiten," "gefenklich annehmen vnd auf ansuchen vnseres Ambtman vnd des Rats zu Gotha daselbst hin volgen lassen." Der im Weimarer Archiv beruhenden Originalkopie liegt ein Brief des Kurprinzen Johann Friedrich an den Gothaer Superintendenten Friedrich Myconius bei,<sup>2</sup> in dem dieser aufgefordert wird, nebst Justus Menius, den er kraft dieses Briefs dazu einladen solle, Ickelsamer "in beysein gedachts Ampts und rats . . . auff ansehen aller seiner verfenglichen vnd irthumblichen artigkel vnd lehr nothdurftiglichen zu examinieren." Ickelsamer scheint aber rechtzeitig gewarnt worden zu sein und sich der Gefangennahme und dem Verhör durch die Flucht entzogen zu haben. Nachdem er vergeblich bei Luther um eine Audienz nachgesucht hatte, fand er im Juni in Strassburg bei Wolfgang Capito ein Asyl<sup>3</sup>—im Februar war Karlstadt dort eingetroffen. Seine Gram-

<sup>1</sup> Abgedruckt: *Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten und neuen theologischen Sachen*, 1722, S. 185 ff. Dazu die Textverbesserungen nach der im Weimarer Archiv befindlichen Originalkopie bei Barge, *Beiträge zur bayerischen Kirchengeschichte*, VII, 278 f. Abgedruckt nach dem Original im Fürstlichen Landesarchiv zu Sonderhausen bei Ed. Jacobs, "Die Wiedertäufer am Harz," *Zeitschrift des Harsvereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, XXXII, 2. Heft (Wernigerode 1899), S. 75 f., und bei G. Einicke, *Zwanzig Jahre Schwarzburgische Reformationsgeschichte, 1521–1541*, 1. Teil, 1521–31 (Nordhausen 1904), S. 416 f. Vgl. auch P. Wappeler, *Die Täuferbewegung in Thüringen von 1526–1534* (Jena, 1913), S. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Abgedruckt bei Barge, *Beiträge*, S. 279 f.

<sup>3</sup> Zwinglii opera, VIII, 465.

matik schrieb Ickelsamer wohl 1531 in Augsburg.<sup>1</sup> Später ist er auch zu Kaspar Schwenkfeld in Beziehung getreten. Als er an einer schweren und langwierigen Krankheit darnieder lag, schickte ihm dieser einen innigen Trostbrief zu nebst dem schönen Liede Adam Reissners: "In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr, hilf, dass ich nicht zu Schanden wer." Beides hat Ickelsamer nach seiner Genesung 1537 ohne Schwenkfelds "Geheiss vnd Befehl" veröffentlicht (Exemplar in München, Universitätsbibliothek).<sup>2</sup> Im selben Jahre erschien seine Grammatik in Nürnberg wohl in dritter und letzter Auflage. Seitdem ist seine Spur verwischt.

Dass Ickelsamer keine intensive Tätigkeit entfalten konnte, dass er—wie Sebastian Frank und andere outsiders der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte—ein unruhiges Wanderleben führen musste, dass auch seine pädagogischen Verdienste erst in jüngster Zeit recht anerkannt und gewürdigt worden sind, ist darin begründet, dass er es wagte, religiöse Ansichten zu bekunden, die weder katholisch noch lutherisch, sondern evangelisch waren, und dass er als junger Mann das Herz hatte, für den verhassten Karlstadt einzutreten. Wie energisch die lutherische Inquisition gegen solche "Schwärmerei" vorging und der Verbreitung solcher eigentümlichen Meinungen und kritischen Aeusserungen zu wehren wusste, sieht man daraus, dass Ickelsamers Schriften schon lange zu den grössten Seltenheiten gehören. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in amerikanischen Bibliotheken ein oder der andere Druck steckt. Vielleicht wird dadurch eine in Deutschland unbekannte Ausgabe belegt. Vielleicht kommt dort gar die hier verschollene Druckschrift von 1529: *Vom Wandel und Leben der Christen zu Tage*.

OTTO CLEMEN

ZWICKAU, GERMANY

<sup>1</sup> Weigand, S. 25. Er war hier wohl Hauslehrer bei dem Patrizier Lukas Rem: Joh. Musler (Über diesen vergleiche F. Cohrs, *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, IV [Berlin 1902], S. 171, Ann. 3, und meine Abhandlung in den *Neuen Jahrbüchern für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte, und deutsche Literatur und für Pädagogik*, II [1903], 524 ff.) an Rem 7. Februar 1538 in: *En tandem libellus captivitatis tenebris quasi ab orco in lucem a Venetis principibus revocatus . . . Venetia 1539*, S. 403, 408.

<sup>2</sup> Weigand, S. 27. Vgl. über Reissner, *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXVIII, 150–52.

JAMES WILSON BRIGHT  
1852-1926

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The death of James Wilson Bright brought to its close a life that will always be significant in the history of American scholarship. Professor Bright became professor of English philology in Johns Hopkins University in 1891, and until within a few years of his death, he was in active control of an important part of the work of the university. He was therefore not a pioneer but belongs to that remarkable group of scholars who gave to Johns Hopkins University its early distinction, and who by their combined efforts established in America new standards of scholarly endeavor.

Professor Bright did not publish abundantly, and his friends and followers were sometimes inclined to urge upon him the undertaking of tasks of more obvious and general interest than those to which he was content to devote himself. But Professor Bright's achievements are not to be measured merely by the number of books that carry his name upon their title-pages. He gave limitless time to the editing of the journals with which for many years he was connected, and certainly his old students will not undervalue the patience and the sympathy with which he assisted them in all their projects. Deeply imbedded in his nature were certain unworldly ideals of scholarship which those who were brought into contact with him could not fail to realize. Professor Bright never thought that there were any gradations of honor in good work. What was well done, however limited its range, in his eyes was admirable, and what was hastily and inadequately done, even though it looked important, was not tolerated. In this he was moved by the spirit of the artist as well as by the spirit of the scholar. The superficial attractions of a subject never were permitted to deflect his attention from the underlying necessities of sound learning and utter truthfulness to the matter in hand.

Perhaps his most characteristic works are his editions of the West Saxon Gospels. In these texts scholars for all time will find models of

thorough and exact research, controlled by the strictest adherence to the demands of the subject; in a word, that finality of performance which places them among the permanent achievements of scholarship. In his general writing, likewise, Professor Bright cultivated exactness rather than rapidity or abundance of expression. To these qualities of sincerity and devotion one always returns in the contemplation of this admirable scholar's life. In a day when facile generalizations flourish, nothing could be more salutary than the memory of one who always held firmly and defined clearly the undertakings before him and who never begrimed any amount of painful labor to make strong and true the texture of his argument.

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## REVIEWS

*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar, nebst den grösseren Gedichten Egils.* By FINNUR JÓNSSON. Zweite neubearbeitete Auflage. *Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Vol. III. Halle: Saale, 1924. Pp. xlii+333.

The first issue of Jónsson's *Egla* edition in the *Sagabibliothek* appeared in 1894. Before that Jónsson had edited the saga for the *Samfund til Udgivelse af gammel nordisk Litteratur*, 1886-88. This was an almost exact reproduction of the M text, but contained some variant apparatus from texts W and K, and the fragments. Also the 1894 edition was naturally based on the M text, but with a great many adoptions of the reading of other texts that seemed preferable, and of some suggestions made in reviews of the Samfund edition. The present edition is largely a reprint of that of 1894, except for a number of changes in the strophes, where, it appears, the reading of M is more closely adhered to. A review may in this case properly confine itself to recording the departures from the earlier edition.

A distinctive feature of the SB edition was its excellent Introduction (xxxix pp.), of which pages i-xii dealt with "Die isländische Geschichtsschreibung." Though brief, this remains still one of the best things that has been written on the mooted problem of the "gathering" of the Icelandic family sagas. These twelve pages are retained almost verbatim, but I observe one change on page iii. To the statement of his view that then read "Eine ganze abgeschlossene saga in der gestalt, wie wir gegenwärtig diese erzeugnisse besitzen, war vor der literarischen zeit (im 12 jahrhundert) in Island schwerlich vorhanden," the editor has now added after "schwerlich" the words "oder nur in einigen einzelnen fällen." However, this only apparently represents a certain change of view, for also in 1894 F. Jónsson held it possible that to a certain limited extent there may have been completed sagas before the literary period; but that, as with the kings' sagas and the ecclesiastical sagas, so the family sagas, too, for the most part took shape in the Golden Age, 1150-1250. In the meantime a number of studies have been written on the matter; these are in the main referred to in the discussion, or listed in the notes on pages iv and v. I regret that the two first chapters of W. A. Craigie's *The Icelandic Saga*, 1913, are not mentioned here. Shortly before 1894 Eirikr Magnússon had attempted to fix the authorship of the *Eyrbyggja saga*, to which Jónsson referred on page vii; he disagreed with the views that had *neuerdings* been made, etc. In the present edition the word *neuerdings* had better been replaced by a reference to the place and date of Magnússon's discussion.

In considering the problems mentioned above, F. Jónsson said in 1894 that he did not wish to dispute that the "gatherers" or the authors of the sagas, no

doubt, often found ready at hand a *getrübte* tradition, and that one must also reckon with the possibility that a subjective conception of persons and facts may in varying degrees have asserted itself. And then he added: "Dies alles muss die kritik aufzudecken und festzustellen versuchen." And this wish stands there now too, thirty years afterward. It is a somewhat discouraging commentary on the slowness with which research has moved in this case. Hardly a single investigator has yet busied himself with the literary form of the Icelandic sagas, those marvelous examples of prose style and narrative art. Finnur Jónsson is speaking of questions of authorship and of saga criticism. For these, too, are the suggested investigations needed. It is hoped that students will in the future sometimes turn also to this aspect of old Northern studies.

Of the remainder of the Introduction I shall note, from page xviii, that *lausavísá*, 17, is not now listed among those that Jónsson stamps as *eicher unecht*; nor are *visur*, 45-47, now designated as *vielleicht unecht*. There is an addition on Egil's authorship of the *Hofudlausn*, with references to the views of J. Jónsson, B. M. Olson, and W. H. Vogt.

As to the text and notes little need be said; the editor has rarely deemed it necessary to change the original form, beyond the omission of references to the older literature and the inclusion, instead, of some to later published investigations. I observe the omission of many etymological notes now (p. 6, n. 6; p. 7, n. 9; p. 8, n. 6; etc., etc.). There are various kinds of other omissions, and there are also some additions, so that the two editions correspond exactly in their paging throughout.

Under the note to line 2, page 2, *hnífa*, there might well have been a reference to *Arkiv fnF*, XXVI, 166; under the note, to line 17, page 19, *þtumz ek*, I would also have had a reference here to A. Kock, *ibid.*, XXXV, 74-77; under the note to line 4, page 20, *haarf til hans*, "küsst ihn," does not seem to me very fortunate; under the note to line 13, page 25, and the note to lines 4, 5, page 26, the only reference in the former in regard to *hirdmaðr* is "s. Konungsskuggsá (ed. F. Jónsson)," and in the latter, also in reference to the *hird* "(*Litt. hist.*, I, 423 ff.)". It is unfortunate that L. M. Larson's study, *The Household of the Norwegian Kings in the Thirteenth Century*, is not called to the attention of the user of the book in connection with the remarks on the *hird*; under the *lausavísur*, with their numerous difficulties, I miss entirely any reference to F. Detter's "Zur Erklärung der Lausavisur der Egilssaga," in the *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie. Festgabe für Richard Heinzel* (1898), pages 1-29. A mention of Detter's attempt to get a meaning out of the last two verses of *lausavísá*, 52, would have been in order. I am not aware that anyone else has really made anything out of the two verses, and F. Jónsson left them unexplained in the Samfund edition, and in the first SB edition; they are also now left so (with the words, "Der schluss der strofe ist unverständlich"). The peculiar form *bergóneres* of *lausavísá*, 23, verse 7, adopted in the 1894 SB edition, is retained; but it is difficult to see

what can be made out of it. Some MSS have *bergnundar*, which was accepted in the Samfund edition. It seems to me Detter offered a plausible explanation of the origin of the form *bergóneres* (*op. cit.*, p. 10) as a misunderstanding of the abbreviation of *bergnundar*.

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*Spanish Grail Fragments*. Edited by KARL PIETSCH. "Modern Philology Monographs." Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924-25. Vol. I: pp. xi+89; Vol. II: pp. xiii+255.

The University of Chicago could hardly have made a more auspicious choice for the opening volume of the "Modern Philology Monographs" than the *Spanish Grail Fragments* edited by Professor Pietsch. Not merely because twenty-five years of effort have here produced "the most extensive running commentary that has yet been published on a single Old Spanish text," but because out of a wealth of learning, and ever repeated evidence of penetration, zeal, and discipline, there speaks a most kindly spirit, the spirit of one whose loving appreciation can link the present with the days of Tobler and give the younger generation of scholars a rare sense of continuity.

The three texts, *El Libro de Josep Abarimatia*, *La Estoria de Merlin*, and the *Langarote*, fragments written in 1469 of a Grail-cycle previously discussed by the editor (*Mod. Phil.*, XI, 1), are here reproduced from MS 2-G-5 of the Palace Library in Madrid. The fragments (designated jointly as G), together with *El Baladro del sabio Merlin*, Burgos, 1498 (B), and the two parts of the *Demanda del Sancto Grial* (D), derive from a common source (itself a translation from the French) written in that curious 13-14 c. mixture of Leonese with Gallego-Portuguese and Castilian with characterizes the *Alexandre*, *Alfonso XI*, and *Elena y María*. The texts are preceded by a chapter on linguistic and lexicographical peculiarities left by the original in G and D, completing *Modern Philology*, XIII, 369, 625; and further evidence is added to establish the priority of the Spanish *Josep* over the Portuguese, the date of the Portuguese translation being fixed at 1313. The peculiar origin of the texts—translations in a fluctuating idiom—put a paleographical or critical edition out of the question, but with patience and great caution, at least readability has been achieved. The variant readings occupy a somewhat unusual place, being included in the commentary. It is much to be regretted that the index was not further elaborated.

The editor is mainly concerned with the text as such, not as a Grail-text, and the lexicographical and grammatical commentary which fills the second, and larger, volume would be likely to stifle anything but silent admiration, were it not for the editor's unaffected modesty and his evident sympathy for his younger followers. Pouring out an overwhelming abundance of evidence

on almost every case in a bold sweep over practically the whole field of Romance philology, rejuvenating hackneyed discussion at least for the Hispanist and often providing beautifully satisfactory treatment of questions hardly ever touched before, he yet insists on the fragmentary nature of his notes, merely claims to gather material for "the future author of historical Spanish syntax" (II, 202), and declares himself "glad if younger scholars spin the threads farther" (I, x).

The following remarks hardly touch the Middle Ages, where the editor's matchless information covers almost everything accessible. From the notes of only a few years' reading they merely submit some further and mainly later examples for a few of the problems discussed, with the hope that Professor Pietsch may see in them an expression of a younger generation's pride in his long and successful work.

**LIBRO DE JOSEF ABARIMATIA 4, 12 (16)<sup>1</sup>**

My belief that in DQuix. I, 1 *Dezia mucho bien del Gigante Morgante* the word *bien* is a substantive is here confirmed against examples of *mucho bien* exclusively as adverb, furnished by Rodríguez Marín. Comp. further *El Abencerraje* (in Villegas, *Inventario, ap.* Pérez Pastor, Imprenta en Medina del Campo) 216 ... *estas palabras ... le causaron confusión y arrepentimiento del mal que hacia a quien del dezia tantos bienes ...* Anon., BAE, XXXVI, 530d *Díjole, después de haber cenado y regaláddole, ... que cuando la viese la dijese muchos bienes de mí* and Gerónimo de Alcalá, Alonso, *mozo de muchos amos*, BAE, XVIII, 578b *Determiné de irme á Barcelona, por haber oido decir del reino de Cataluña grandes bienes.* A further example of *mucho bien* in Seb. Fernández, *Trag. Policiana* (1547, *Orig. de la nov. III*) 21 col. 1 "*Dorotea ...—entiendesme?" "Mucho bien."*"

- 6, 8 (24) *Tener* as auxiliary also in spoken Judeo-Spanish, Lamouche, Rom. *Forsch.* 23, 985.
- 11, 32 (39) Cf. also Cerv., Casam. engañoso (Amezda) 402-3. The fluctuation of meaning between *confortare* and *cohortari* is especially noteworthy in the *Penitencia de amor* (*Orig. de la nov. III, clxvii*) G de Diego, *Contrib. al dicc. hisp. etim. nr. 126*, notes the Academy's error in deriving *cohortar* = *confortar* from *cohortari*. (In fact from *cohortare*, also in the latest, 1925, edition.)
- 14, 4 (46) Cf. *En la fuente del Rosel Lava la niña y el Doncel Él á ella y ella á él*. Gallardo, *Ensayo III*, col. 1236.
- 16, 29 (53) Cf. Auto de como San Juan fué concebido, Rom. Rev. XVII, Jacob: yo (117) Zacharias: *sentiria* (282) fiat: dia (484). Auto de la quinta angustia (1552) Rom. Rev. III, Hieremias (367): vida [r. via?] (369): mia (370).
- 18, 3 (54) Add Lope, *El nuevo mundo descubierto*, (Barry) v. 768-9 *No permitas, Providencia, Hacerme esta sinjusticia.* Also ibid. v. 796 and Lang, Rom. Rev. II, 344 f.
- 22, 12 (65) To the cases of haplography or 'a embebida' may be added Gatos (Northup) III, 12 and note; Bello-Cuervo, p. 98 (Encina, Santa Teresa) and Rinconete (RM) 340 ff. See also infra in the note to 22, 28 TNaharro II, 293.

<sup>1</sup> After the page and line in the fragments the page in the commentary, Vol. II, is given in parenthesis.

There is a possibility that in LCAv. Esc. 473 *da* might not call for *a* (Beardsley, Infinit. constructions, 175).

- 22, 28 (67) I believe that in certain of the examples of *poder* (subst.) with pure infinitive and probably in the DQuix. I, 7 *no avia poder averiguar con el* the main verb is part of an impersonal construction (*hay poder*) equivalent to *es posible*. The predominating meaning of *es posible*, normally followed by a pure infinitive, may have caused the preposition to drop. Convincing examples of impersonal *ha poder*, however, seem to occur more frequently isolated or followed by a *que*-construction than with an infinitive. A few examples may not be useless: GVicente (1852) I, 74 *Viste tanto zote ya? No ha poder que no te asombres.* II, 86 *Nunca havedes d'acabar De me prender e soltar? Não ha poder.* Encina 229 *No ha poder que no esté el hombre Acá dentro mas seguro.* TNaharro II, 238 *No ha poder Son que tengo de caer En el demóno á que vengo.* II, 293 *No ha poder, Ó no praga Lucifer, Y es aquel que está allí echado.* Palau, Custodia del hombre, v. 2102-2104 *O Señor, o Dios bendito! ya poder/ [r. fy ha poder?] jurio a san, no puede ser.* Farsa Salamanca, v. 1923 ff. Soriano: *Calla hermano ven aca.* Antón: *A poder/bien hos se yo conocer ... SFernández, Trag. Policiana (Orig. de la nov. III) 7a Casa es de locos esta ... El amo troba, los moços van a rondar, pues algun dia no ha poder que no sea la mia.*
- Examples of the pure infinitive after *haber = haber de* as early as CMCid 3523 and as late as Cruz, Sainetes (Kany) RH LX, 172. With *ha poder*+pure infinitive might be compared *puede ser*+pure infinitive: DQuix. I, 6 *mandó al barbero que le fuese dando de aquello: libros uno a uno, para ver de qué trataban, pues podía ser hallar algunos que no mereciesen castigo de fuego.* Luna, Diál. fam. (Oudin's ed. 1675) 140 *Sí hago, mas no sabéis, que no todos los humores son unos, y que podrá ser, lo que a vos os dà gusto, enfadarme á mi?*
- 23, 14 (69) Further examples of *no nada* (feminine) CBaena 352 *Señor, sé è creo que tu me formaste A la tu ymagen de una non nada.* Autos port. (Michaelis) Auto do Duque de Florença *hermano no seays quexoso/ queste es vna nonada.* Villegas, Selvagia (1554) 24 *una no nada que me mandabades, no habia de cumplir?* Further examples of the masculine in Sá de Miranda, Poesías, (Michaelis) 922.
- 27, 19 (83) Add TNaharro II, 11 *No vistes mayor hazaña: Qu'el mozo perdió la habra, Y an la moza piés de cabra, Que no metía pestaña Dende acras.* II, 350 *Topé lugo allí con un su cuñado; Mas yo, que salia tan dado al dimoño, Habré por ella que estaba acordado Con ella y conmigo de her martimoño.* Anon. Com. Seraphina (1521) 376 *Has de saber que yo que me abaxaba, andando de bien en mejor, elamóme Violante ...*
- 28, 25 (93) An interesting example of multiple subjects forming a unit construed with singular verb appears in GLasso de la Vega, Destrucción de Constantinopla (1587) 203 vo. *cuyo donaire, ser, gracia, y cordura,/los recalados animos assalta.* With one of the subjects plural: Cerv., Ruf. dich. (Schevill-Bonilla) 32 *pero dame esfuerço y brio/estos zelos y este amor.* Several distinct singular subjects: Celestina (Foulché-Delbos) 6 *hasta que llega Sempronio y Celestina a casa de Calisto.* Ibid. 44 *Queda Sempronio y Elicia en casa.* Cerv., Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 59 *no le sabe sino Preciosa, y yo, y otra persona;* Ruf. dich. 39 *Vase Lagartija y Lugo alborotados.* As for the type with which the

- note is mainly concerned comp. Rouanet, Autos II, 282 *y vereys que en nuestros dias/se cumplio las profecias/de Jesus, Hijo de Dios.* Navarro, Marquea de Saluzia (C. B. Bourland) RHi IX) v. 214 *sabras cosas que te quadre: padre.* Cerv., Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 52 *no querria que algunas de las demasiadas ocasiones que alli pueden ofrecerse, me saliese la buena ventura que tanto me cuesta.* Nov. ex. (RM) II, 42 *Las nuevas de su locura y de sus respuestas y dichos se extendio por toda Castilla ...*
- 32, 20 (102) Add Ortiz, Radiana (House) v. 187 *en los tiempos que yo he visto: perdido.* López Rangel, Farsa (Salvá 1298), v. 30: *quicas Domingo la visto: dolorido;* v. 39: *por mi fe yo no la he visto: sentido.* Jdeparis, Farsa (Kohler) 396 *que nunca tal hombre jamás oy he visto: ydo Bonilla,* Cinco obras (RHi XXVII) 428 *pues claramente emos visto: cometido.* See also the example from Encina under 40, 29 (122).
- 37, 6 (114) M-L III, S 322. Tappolet (Germ. Roman. Monatschr. XIII, 136) observes: "Von einem aufgeweckten Kind sagt z.B. der Berner Jura *il ne veut point être innocent*, 'aus dem wird mal sicher kein Dummerjahn.'
- 37, 18 (115) Cerv., Numancia (Obras, Rosell XII) 98 *Estos tan muchos tímidos (sic) Romanos, Que buscan de vencer cien mil caminos ... Also Suárez de Figueroa, Passagero 352 Quan ignorantes las mas superiores ineligencias para rastrear parte de tanto mucho como ciñe y abrafa!*
- 38, 11 (118) Some Portuguese examples of *como que* in Ribeiro, Frases feitas, II, 238 f. To the type in Cuervo, Dicc. s. v. *como*, 6, e, γγ may be added Puerta de las lenguas abierta (1661, RHi XXXV) 115 *el ruyseñor, trina y haze repetidos queibros y con grata melodia entona y como que gargantea.* It may be instructive to compare the eventual full exposition of Professor P.'s theory of *como que* with the recent attempt in RFE XII, 133 ff.
- 40, 29 (122) To the cases of attraction may be added Encina 231 *On me spanto como habro Segun en lo que me he visto.* Nov. ex. (RM) II, 11 *pero en lo que mds se mostraba era en letras humanas;* also one in which the preposition remains in place and is twice attracted besides: Nov. ex. (Cuervo) 52 *y en el primero caso en que quiero estaros es en el de la confianza que habéis de hacer de mí;* further, one in which a double attraction is produced by a preposition actually omitted: Cerv. Adjunta al Parnaso, BAE, I, 609c: *en el estílo que mas me ocupo, es en el comicó.* One may recall here what Campomar said about the 'rimbombancia' of Juan Donoso Cortés (ap. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Hist. lit. esp. 1921, 323) *En lo único que se parecen los gigantes y los enanos es en lo estentóreo de la voz.* The construction is still common, witness Muñoz Seca in a recent interview (La Esfera, Jan. 30, 1926) *Algunos amigos, al ver con la señá que me tratan me indican ...*
- 42, 27 (129) A written example of *abrijo=abrigado* in Martín Pérez de Ayala (Segura de la Sierra, prov. de Jaén) Vida (1566, NBAE II) 226 *lugar abrigo, pero desacomodado para ir [a] la isla, por amor del viento terrenal. ... For pago Rodriguez Florián, Florinea (1554, Orig. de la nov. III) 239 los otros quedaron descontentos y no pagos de hauer penado por ella.* Baroja, Mala hierba (Madrid 1918) 318 *y sacó dos monedas para pagar.-Está pago, replicó el tabernero.* *Canso* is also attested for the Montaña (García Lomas 104) and given as provincial by Besses, Argot, 46. *Privo* is perhaps doubtful: JSedefio, Areacdia (16c.) ap. Gallardo, Ensayo IV, 564 *Yo vivo estoy; y estoy de vida*

*privio: Yo soy de vida privo y de mí mismo.* Castro, Vida del soldado (Serrano) 112 *¡Tan inhumano y privo de razon soy yo que ... Not so discurso:* Benavente, Intereses creados (Teatro XVI) 145 *el hambre y el cansancio me tienen abatido y mal discurso.*

- 43, 7 (131) In some "Notes on the Language of the Rustics in the Sixteenth Century Drama" contributed in 1922 for the Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal, I started from the assumption that the *i* in the oath *pesia*, as Meyer-Lübke contended against Morel-Fatio, was the result of a post-tonic *e* in hiatus, and surmised that the epenthetic *e* in *juria* was a contamination from *pesia* which produced the infinitive *juriar* and the present *jurio*. The examples now offered by Professor Pietsch make it very probable that a more definite phonetic process was responsible for the *i* in *juria*, although not, of course, in *pesia*, which always presupposes a subjunctive. To these examples may be added Valdes, Dial. de Mercurio y Carón (Boehmer) 71 *laberintio*. Nufiez, Refranes, Madrid, 1804, III, 361 *coxio* (given as ast.)
- 44, 12 (134) *El pecado* = the devil. Add Fernández y Ávila, Infancia, de Jesu-Christo (Wagner) 226; Guzmán de Alfarache, Pte I, l. III, cap. 10: *¡Voto a tall, que parece que el pecado nos ata los pies, que siempre este chocarrero nos gana por la mano.* The only example I know of *pecado* with an indefinite: López Rangel, Farsa, *ea responde me di/eres animal o hombre/o eres algún pecado.* Is the idea of devil (*el enemigo malo*) also at the bottom of the oath *mal pecado!* (Berceo, Milagros, 70d), *por mal pecado* (Apol. 11a) and frequent from the *Celestina* to the *Quijote*?
- 47, 26 (148) The use of the atonic personal pronoun with *entrar* was probably also furthered by confusion with dativeus ethicus (as in CMCid 687) or dative of possession (as in Conf. Amante 286, 13). More examples might also show the reflexive use of the verb bridging the passage from intransitive to transitive (Cf. Schuchardt, ZfrPh, XXXII, 231). Perhaps it may be observed here that with sun, heat, day, night as subject *entrar* would not always be adequately rendered by *empezar* (as in CMCid. III, p. 646, 13-15): Dial. del Capón (RHi, XXXVIII) 271 *pues el sol va entrando á mas andar, ... no tengo de salir dese solo.* DQuix. I, 2 *y el sol entra tan apriesa y con tanto ardor, que fuera bastante á derretirle los sesos ...* Avellaneda (BAE, I) 16d *por tanto, caminemos ántes que entre más el sol.* Rinc. (RM) 322 *que se va haciendo tarde y va entrando el calor más que de paso.* DQuix. II, 8 *la noche se nos va entrando á mas andar ("se nos echa encima") Cejador.* Rodríguez Marín (ed. crit. IV, 170) quotes Fernández de Ribera: *Entrabassenos el dia, y yo quise irme, antes que el le calentase más.* In certain cases, at any rate, especially with object pronouns, an idea of something hostile (or sudden, as in our slang "walk in on somebody") is suggested. This is notably the case in *Celestina* 60.
- 51, 26 (157) Further examples of *Mares = Mars*: RHi, XIX, 81; Santillana, Canciones y decires (Gde Diego) 67 and note; Cotarelo, Fragmentos de una farsa (R. esp. de lit. hist. y arte, I) 140; Eslava, Coloquios (Icazbalceta) 72.
- 54, 27 (161) I would suggest that there is reason to distinguish two types in the examples given: (1) *yrse camino de su caualleriza*, where *camino* has, as Clemencín put it, a prepositional force. (2) *yuan el mesmo camino*, where *camino* is a cognate object.

ESTORIA DE MERLÍN 66, 28 (200) *hacerlo (a una mujer)* explains the game of

- words between Gilyracho and Perogrullo in Güete's *Tesorina* (Cronan I) v. 1310 ff: *He, pues, sus;/he, declina agotelus./—Pardiez, aquí es el cagar!/hec et hec agotelus, juro a san, que ay que tirar./—Dale, di./—Genetiuo, agoteli, in datiuo, agotelo./Essa, yo te niego a ti/la puta que te pario.*
- 66, 29 (200) Two later examples of *fazer [en]creyente*: Cotarelo, *Entremeses* I, 57 (end 16c.) *vuesa merced se puede tender en este suelo y yo le haré encreyente que es fuelle para el oficio ... Passamonte, Vida* (RHi 55) 412 *la buena de la madre le hizo en creyente al mogo por cartas, que le tenia buscado un cargo.* One example from Quevedo in DQuix. (RM ed. crít.) V, 380. Another in Quevedo, *Obras* III, 322 *Agora se está una dueña Desnudando el ab initio; Haciéndoles encreyentes Que es el Jordán á sus siglos.* The form *encreyentes* also occurs for the singular: Quevedo, *Sueños* (Cejador) II, 113 *pues me queréis hacer encreyentes que es estornudo el reguelo* (C. gives one example of *encreyente* from Rueda and two of *encreyentes* from Quevedo). I hope Professor Pietsch had the form with -s and also the curious expression *en justo(s) y en creyente(s)* (DQuix. II, 44) in mind, when he promised "more of this at another time."
- 68, 28 (206) Add *Celestina* 150 *para, en sintiendo porque, saltar presto ... Encina* 183 *nuestros requiebros son Las muestras del corazon, Que no son á sin porque.* G Vicente II, 93 *Y nos dais vida cuidosa/ Sin porque?* DSBadajoz I, 114 *Oh! que no hice por qué.* Tragic. aleg. (Cronan I) v. 1165 *Tu muger, la generosa,/ tomo siempre este porque [i.e., cochecho]. Cerv., Com. y entrem.* (Schevill-Bonilla) I, 122 *lisongero/y, sin porque, jaclancioso ... El menor Aunes,* Sermon de amores (RHi 36, 595 f.) v. 579 f. *y cargay luego las culpas ... /no a vosotros mas a ellas/sin porque.* Rouanet, *Autos*, II, 210 *despues de la Pasion/ que a de pasar sin porque,/Xpo yra a vuestra prision ...* With the definite article Canc. de burlas (*Usoz*) 213 *el porque yo no lo hallo;* Palau, Salamanca, v. 1984 *El porque/ ciertamente no lo se ... Castillejo, Obras de amores* (BAE, XXXII), 108 *y el porque Preguntado no lo sé.* Also compare the title of a book on popular medicine *Libro llamado el porque*, Alcalá 1587; DQuix. (RM, ed. crít., II, 234, 2) *y no se me pregunte el por qué, que sería nunca acabar.* Also *para qué* J Rodrigo Alonso, Com. de Sancta Susana (Bonilla, RHi, XXVII, 390 f.) v. 313 *El para que nos dezi.* More curious are the examples of ellipsis where *porqué*, while preceded by the article preserves its conjunctive force: Fern. de la Torre, *Cancionero*, 150 *Dime ya, triste ventura,/el por que/ m'apartas de quien ame/sin mesura.* JPastor, *Farsa de Lucrecia* (Bonilla, l. c.) v. 655 ff. *yo quiero sin detener/ ... procurar de llevar/el porque fuy embiado.*
- 70, 27 (212) For *grand pieza* Santillana (Gde Diego) 28 and note; DQuix. I, 7 *pero al cabo de una buena pieza, preguntó á su ama ... Ibid, á cabo de poca pieza salió volando por el tejado.*
- 72, 17 (216) The original meaning of *camarada*: "group of soldiers sleeping and eating together" continued to exist in the feminine substantive and in adverbial compounds such as *de camarada* (Pic. Justina, ed. Puyol, II, 118 *fuymonos de camarada todas con tanta hermandad como si todas quatro fueramos muleras.*) or *en camarada*: Diál. intit. el Capón (RHi, XXXVIII) 311 *bien serd en camarada, así por la seguridad como por la conversación ... Cerv., Nov. ex., II, 32 y en su compañía y camarada pasó a Flandes.* The first step toward the masculine would be the application of the word to only one person, gen-

erally a man, but with the word still feminine, as in the examples given by Professor Pietsch, to which may be added Passamonte, *Vida*, 325 *se dió orden que una camarada de las mías, que se llama Iuan Fernandes, animasse en cruzia y gritasse*. *Ibid.* *Yo con otra camarada mia que se llamava Francisco Pedroso ... Las Casas* (1570) does not mention the word. Covarrubias (1611) gives it only the restricted personal sense. Minshew (1623) in his additions to Percivale has a first meaning, fem. "a comrade or cabbinate souldier" and besides the now antiquated "battery," also mentions the "placing of diuers men together." But the striving toward a change of gender is evidenced by the addition of a masc. "camerado" (comp. modern French slang *camaro*) "vide Camerada ... a camerado souldiour." (Cotgrave also spells camerade.) In the *Diccionario de Autoridades* the first example of the masculine is from Diego Gracián, secretary of Charles the Fifth. Neither the second (from Antonio de Herrera's *Historia de Indias*, 1601) nor the third (from Quevedo) nor the two remaining, show the gender. The *camarada* as an institution began to disappear with the beginning of the seventeenth century, witness the Spanish army ordinance of 1632 where the decadence of discipline is attributed "al haberse relajado en mis ejércitos la buena y loable costumbre que solía haber de que los soldados viviesen en camaradas" (Picatoste, *Los Espaioles en Italia*, II, 24 f.). But before the *camarada* disappeared as an element of cohesion and economy, French military writers such as Lanoue (quotations from De Langey and Lanoue in Littré) had admired and recommended the custom and the word had passed into French, at first and as late as Cotgrave (1611, cf. also Fr. Schmidt, *Span. elem. in Franz. Wortschatz*, 83) preserving the feminine gender. Indeed in certain parts of Romanic Switzerland (Conthey, Lens, Chamoson, Liddes) while epicene in modern French, it is even now applied only to women (Tappolet, *Germ.-Roman. Mtschft*, XIII, 135). In Italian the first clear example of masculine gender given by the Crusca is from Lorenzo Magalotti (d. 1712).

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*The Influence of the Arthurian Romances on the Five Books of Rabelais.*

By NEMOURS H. CLEMENT. "University of California Publications in Modern Philology," Vol. XII, No. 3. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1926. Pp. 110.

Mr. Clement's work is the amplification of a dissertation presented for the degree of Ph.D. at the University of Chicago. His purpose is to set before the students of Rabelais a new theory of the chief source inspiring the composition of the Five Books. This source has been conjectured by Thuasne and De Sanctis in Folengo's *Macaronics*; by Plattard in a combination of the *Macaronics* with the popular romances of France (particularly the *Grandes Chroniques*) and the Italian comic romances; by Fleury, Schneegans, Besch, and Tilley in the *chansons de geste*; and by Lefranc in the reports of navigators which caught the imagination of Rabelais' day. Throwing light as they do

on various sides of Rabelais' composition, these theories leave enough of it in darkness for Mr. Clement to propose a fifth. He sets up for consideration the thesis that the Five Books form a burlesque imitation of the medieval romances (particularly the Arthurian), with the specification that while I and II are general imitations, the remaining books are modeled from the romances centering about the search for the Holy Grail.

Mr. Clement has listed the romances with which Rabelais certainly, probably, or possibly had acquaintance, and has classified them by material and treatment according to the general plan of Gaston Paris. He takes up in his fourth chapter the details of cultural background which appear in the typical romance and are to be found as well in Rabelais' I and II, pointing out that these books show remarkable parallelisms to the construction and description of a courtly society as conceived by the romance-writers. His fifth chapter studies the evidence for considering III, IV, and V as burlesques of the Grail-romances. The general nature of the voyage of Pantagruel and his companions, the description of the ceremonial which hedges approach to the Holy Bottle, as well as the specific references to the Grail itself, all indicate strongly the presence in Rabelais' mind of an influence exerted by the *Lancelot*, the *Navigatio Sancti Brendani*, and one of the *Perceval* romances.

Mr. Clement's study is painstaking and well based; his analogies are carefully chosen; and altogether he has made a valuable contribution to the literature of a much-vexed theme. His sixth chapter, to be sure, may be laying overmuch stress on the marvelous in Rabelais as a link between the last two books and the romances; for in general the marvelous in the romances seems in essence to have more effect upon the fortunes of the questers than does Rabelais' series of wonders on his ship's company—and as Mr. Clement himself points out, Rabelais has here turned for his sources from the material in the romances to the marvels ready to hand in classical and contemporary literature. Still, Mr. Clement has restrained himself from claiming too much for his thesis, and has thereby added to the confidence to be placed on his judgment.

Two suggestions seem opportune: Mr. Clement might add to his list of marvelous herbs (p. 236) the garlic-like plant *scordeon*, whose magic property is to nullify the power of the lodestone (Vxxxvi in the Marty-Laveaux edition). Further, he should have pointed out that following the reference in Vx to the *flasque de Sang gread*, Maître Aleofribas states that when the party saw this holy object, "ce qui nous fut moustré estoit le visage d'un connirosti." This looks strikingly like a parody of a Grail-romance scene in a version which represents an example of the miracle of St. Gregory (here doubtless the *Perlesvaus*); the nutritive property of the Grail would then be given comic prominence in a style characteristic of Rabelais' irreverence and gastronomic humor.

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*Étude Littéraire et Linguistique de "Li Hystore de Julius Cesar" de Jehan de Tuim.* By V. L. DEDECEK. "Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Series in Romanic Languages and Literatures," No. 13. Philadelphia, 1925. Pp. 132.

Dr. Dedeek's dissertation, as its title indicates, is in two parts. The *partie littéraire* offers a detailed comparison between Jehan's *Hystore* and its sources, chiefly Lucan's *Pharsalia*, with some sound observations on his work as a translator, and on what little is to be gleaned as to his identity from the work itself—there appears to be no other information to be had about him elsewhere.

The *partie linguistique* discusses the dialectic peculiarities of the *Hystore* which, as might be expected from the situation of the town that gives Jehan his name (Thouin, not far from Mons and Namur in Hainaut), turn out to be partly Wallon and partly Picard. The dissertation concludes with etymological notes in extension and correction of the material in Settegast's edition of the text (Halle, 1881). A complete glossary is reserved for later publication.

It is instructive and delightful to observe how Jehan clasps a classic author to his medieval bosom—much must be done to make it fit to inhabit there, and it is done thoroughly and with gusto. It is Lucan; Jehan says so: "Ci coumenche li hystore de Julius Cesar, ke Jehans de Tuim translata de latin en roumans selonc les x. livres de Lucan,"<sup>1</sup> and again, "Ci coumence li prumiers livres de Lucan." But it is Lucan with a difference.

Nearly everything suggestive of the "Payens corsed olde rytes" disappears; the difficult allusions are got rid of; Lucan's concern with *patria* and *libertas* is rooted out; Caesar, the object of Lucan's deep scorn, becomes the ideal knight, not a little given to celebrating his own merits (pp. 27), and Pompey, whom Lucan exalts, is adjudged rightly to have come to a miserable end for having profaned the Lord's temple at Jerusalem; finally the meeting of Caesar and Cleopatra offers a complete exhibit in *amour courtois* in practice and in theory.

Thus did the Middle Ages make themselves marvelously at ease in Rome, and Rome came close to the bosoms of men in the thirteenth century—and

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer appears to have been content to take him at his word. The *Man of Lawe's* reference to the triumph of Julius,

"Of which that Lucan maketh swich a boost" (B 400 f.).

and the Monk's

"To Rome agayn repaireth Julius

With his triumph, laureat ful hye" (B 3909 f.)

may have been suggested by several passages in the *Pharsalia* (Edgar F. Shannon, *Mod. Phil.*, XVI, 12, 113 ff.). But since Jehan's Lucan does make great "boost" of the Roman triumph, describing it with much circumstance in his Prologue (Settegast, pp. 8-10), and describes it again at the very end of the work (pp. 244-45) as having been bestowed upon Caesar, I think it safe to conclude that Chaucer was not speaking at random and unluckily, as Skeat said, but strictly by the book. Even Chaucer's "laureat ful hye" is in Jehan: "dont s'i faisoit courounier d'un vert chapiel de lorier en senefiance de victore" (p. 9).

since. Dr. Dedecek is to be congratulated on having made the demonstration so fully and vividly.

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*The English Language in America.* By GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP, PH.D. 2 vols. Published for the Modern Language Association of America. New York: Century Co., 1925.

Within recent years several notable contributions have been made toward tracing the development, and establishing the present condition, of the English tongue as spoken and written in the United States. Among these works Professor Krapp's two volumes will for some time hold a prominent place, both on account of their scope, dealing as they do with so many aspects of the subject, and by reason of the careful treatment of a number of interesting and important questions.

The first volume treats of matters which concern both the form and the content of the language. It deals with history and vocabulary, with proper names, with style and literary dialects, with spelling and dictionaries. There is some lack of cohesion and sequence here, and the section on "Proper Names" sometimes reaches the very fringes of the subject, but under each of these heads Professor Krapp has collected a large mass of interesting information. The second volume, except for a very short chapter on "Inflection and Syntax," is devoted to a study of pronunciation, so full of detail that it is as much a manual for reference as a general survey of the distinctive sounds of the language.

In his Preface Professor Krapp lays special emphasis on the historical aspect of his study, and this undoubtedly is one of the most valuable features of his work. The long opening section on "The Mother Tongue" puts the relationship between the English of this country and that of Great Britain in the proper perspective, and deals judiciously with various questions which have frequently been debated with more zeal than knowledge. What is treated on general lines in this section is partly exemplified in detail in that on "Vocabulary" which immediately follows it. In this Professor Krapp discusses and illustrates some notable features of the American vocabulary, drawing a great deal of his material from a study of the local records of the seventeenth century. From these he produces a number of interesting or curious usages, some of which will undoubtedly yet receive fuller elucidation than is now possible. Some may never be solved, but remain in the same obscurity as many similar entries in English records of the same period, of which it is impossible to say whether they are genuine words or mere errors of careless and half-literate writers. A few of those cited by Professor Krapp can however be explained even now, and some corrections or additions made, in the light of present knowledge. *Haver* (p. 79) regularly means "oats" not "hay."

*Earebred* (p. 87) has clearly no connection with plowing, but is the same as the English dialect *earbreed*, "the cross-bar or projecting beam at each end of a cart on which the body of the cart rests." As this word is current in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, its appearance in New England is not remarkable. *Hooward* (p. 94) is noteworthy, as the form has a very limited range in England compared with the usual *Hayward*. It seems unnecessary to call *chirie birds* "an unexplained bird-name" (p. 87), and then give the obvious explanation, "cherry-birds," a name still in use. A similar criticism may be made on the "unrecorded word" *alfogeos* (p. 145), which after all proves to be "recorded in the *New English Dictionary*." Various other words mentioned in this section, or elsewhere in the volume, invite stray comment. If *foolk* (p. 102) was a reduction of *firelock*, it would not require to pass through the stage *flock*; a strong stress on the first syllable would account for everything, and the *l* would naturally be sounded. So far as *haet*, *hate* (p. 128) is Scottish, there is no doubt about its etymology, and there seems no good reason for associating it at all with *hooter*. The question whether *line* was "first used of ships or of railways" (p. 137) is not very material, since before either of them was known it had been used of stage-coaches; "a line of stages" is mentioned in 1786. On page 235 *bimeby* is classed as "General Low Colloquial," and on page 250 as "Negro Dialect"; whatever its precise standing may be, it is interesting to note that the antecedent stage to this form is indicated by the spelling *by'nd by*, in a text otherwise quite normal, as early as 1709. On page 12 a passage quoted from Webster, of date 1783, contains the expression, "at the Eastward"; this use of *at* with points of the compass, of which examples can be found from the seventeenth century onward, has apparently been overlooked by the dictionaries.

These are instances, of which many more might be given, of what yet remains to be done before a real history of American English can be written, as Professor Krapp himself points out on pages 167-68. The Index of Words appended to his work is indeed in itself evidence that this aspect of the subject still awaits adequate treatment. Its five thousand entries, many of which are proper names, cover only a limited proportion of the vocabulary, and only in a few instances is the account of a word sufficiently full to be completely historical. In his citations and references, however, Professor Krapp has contributed valuable material toward tracing the history of numerous words, especially from the earlier period. The next step forward will be made when he or some other competent scholar undertakes a work which will deal as fully with the history of the words and their meanings as this treats of their form and sounds both now and in the past. In the meantime, these two volumes will be indispensable both for their contents and as a basis for further studies in the subject.

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*Historische französische Syntax.* By EUGEN LERCH. Vol. I. Pp. xxvi+327. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1925.

This, the first of four volumes to appear, contains discussion of (1) the author's method; (2) the relations of syntax to the other branches of linguistic science; (3) syntactical methods, with a plea for the historical method as understood by the "idealistic" school; (4) the growth of the French conjunctival apparatus; (5) co-ordination and subordination. All of this is preliminary to the detailed description and discussion of co-ordinate clauses in French *que*-clauses and clauses with *si*, *quand*, and *comme*.

In view of the shift from the racial to the national interpretation of civilization, the frequent identity of the social with the linguistic group, together with much evidence of national individuality stamped upon language, some philologists have regarded the language as the embodiment of the nation, and have turned more and more to the conscious factors that enter into the composition of language. Not only is the language often the strongest bond of the group and its most definite form of self-assertion, it is also an unparalleled expression of the inner and outer life of the group, if also the greatest mechanistic means of establishing and maintaining the norm of that life.

Thus far most philologists will go. But others, notably the German "idealistic" school, would also seek to establish a consistent agreement between conscious linguistic development and the larger cultural, social, and political movements of the nation, to interpret language by history, and even vice versa; this is their view of the scope and aim of linguistic history. Dissenters from this view are Ferdinand de Saussure,<sup>1</sup> who concluded that there is no logical connection between a linguistic type and the mentality of the social group, and Bally,<sup>2</sup> who concludes from some striking examples that linguistic perfection does not necessarily follow the curve of culture.

Professor Lerch, however, as an "idealist," is of another opinion. In his Preface, which is an apology for his method, are urged, on the whole with moderation, the views of the "idealistic" syntactical school, especially those of Vossler and Hans Naumann. The task the author sets himself is the historical interpretation of a syntactical choice that accompanies conscious development, and corresponds to growing cultural needs. Syntactical achievements and refinements, and stylistic mechanism, whether the results of creation, analogy, or contamination, are imposed upon the community by the criterion of a culturally superior minority (Naumann's view), and their selection should be referable to historic causes. Sound and form change is never automatic and independent of conscious human selections. (Not even the gradual modification of sounds?) The possibility that the community may see some advantage (e.g., affective) in an "erroneous" form will account for its adoption. (Nothing, apparently, is allowed for lack of discrimination and uncritical acceptance.) The "positivist" clings to grammar as a system of

<sup>1</sup> *Linguistique générale*, p. 318.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Langage et la Vie*. p. 106.

language; the "idealist" prefers the history of language as a unit in which sounds, forms, sentence-structure, and vocabulary are all referable to the thought and feeling of living people.

Lerch considers other methods as preparatory and complementary to the historical method; they may show conditions, if not causes. The conscious attitude of the speaker who differentiates between *Quand arrivera ton père?* and *Quand ton père arrivera-t-il?* matters less than the knowledge that such a nuance became perceptible in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that the substitution of differentiation in structure for vocal stress and gesture is coincident with an advance in culture. The "logical" method alone, seeking the character of the language in discrepancies between thought and speech, is inadequate, as the reason for such must be discovered in the mind of the speaker. The effects of contamination passed into organized speech probably because they suited the tastes of the linguistic community. (The other possibility, that such discrepancies may have been originally popular, and came to be used by an illiterate upper society until they were admitted by writers, whose works, after all, are the only evidence, does not seem to be considered.) The "comparative" method, as Lerch understands it, is not to compare French with other Romance languages, but rather to bring out what is specifically French. The reason for the penetration of a given expression into various countries may be different in each; different also the reason for the adoption of a construction in the same country at different periods. The "genetic" method is of value, not to explain developed speech by comparison with primitive speech, but to understand primitive speech (e.g., Old French) through comparison with other primitive speech (e.g., that of children). Such primitive speech stresses co-ordinate expression, but, the psychic intuition of speakers growing in complexity beyond the available means of expression, subordinating conjunctions were adopted. Lerch quotes Debrunner to the effect that conjunctions have been more important factors in human development than steel and electricity. (The Greek and Chinese particles are equally marks of intellectual power and perception of relations. But instead of marking conceptual growth, do they not all rather express in many cases in the written language the relations implied in the spoken language by accent, intonation, gesture? The writer, indeed, perforce adopted these means of attaining precision, but does anyone seriously imagine that the city population of post-Roman Gaul was ever incapable of marking in some way perception of the commoner thought-relations?)

Of the "psycho-physical" theory the author disposes by noting that members of a linguistic unit do not all follow set expressions because of similar cerebral mechanism; indeed, they are free to adopt variations; nor is it explained why other units do not adopt similar forms of expression, or why these forms vary with time in the same unit. The correspondence of a variable expression with a constant mental experience is not consistent with such theory, but is to be explained only by the historical method. In particular,

experiments in sentence-structure based on the calling of evocative words, or research in nerves leading from the sensory organs to the speech centers, cannot show how sentences are spontaneously formed in correspondence with active mental life. Inner mental activity—intuition—is the essence of speech, whether it result in sound or not. Nor can research in pathological linguistic defects shed light on normal expression. Further, psychology can only point to possibilities, and cannot explain why a particular possibility was realized at a particular period; e.g., contamination and analogy are ever in operation, but only historical method can explain the voluntary adoption of certain of their effects at particular periods. Complementary to the historical is the "aesthetic" method which ascribes linguistic phenomena to individual mental creation, and regards language as art, the embodiment of the soul's intuition. We should go back to a period when an expression was new and competing with other expressions to discover the affective nuance that led to its adoption.

According to Lerch, speech is rigidly determined by definite (but verifiable?) historic causes, and there is close correspondence between the character of a much-used expression and the character of the age in which it is used. Thus, from the predominance of co-ordinate clauses in the *Chanson de Roland* he would infer rudimentary speech habits with slight mental development. First, it may be noted that Meillet<sup>1</sup> thinks it unlikely that primitive speech was almost wholly paratactic. Then, too, the earliest narrative verse, sung or recited, may very well have been intentionally paratactic in expression like much modern stage dialogue and poetry. The absence in the oldest extant French MSS of all but two or three conjunctions is no proof that no others were used in writing and speech, and certainly no argument for a mental development so slight as to be incapable of the expression, much less of the perception of, say, causal and final relations. The fundamental concepts of medieval Christianity and feudalism involved clear conceptions of these very relations, e.g., "because we are sinful [weak]," "in order that we may be saved [protected]," and it is wholly unlikely that the vernacular had no corresponding subordinating conjunctions. But even if it had not, the relations were apprehended, and the attempt to gauge the intellectual plane of the period from the conjunctival equipment of narrative verse breaks down. The author does not tell how frequency of use in Old French is to be determined from extant MSS, nor if verifiable historical causes are the only elements affecting linguistic choice. Apparently no allowance is made for the possible chance survival of certain improvised expressions that may have gained currency in popular speech (at the fairs, for instance). Such must have been many *idiotismes* and proverbial sayings embodying homely wisdom; but these Lerch does not mention. He insists that description for its own sake is well-nigh worthless, and that a scientific method must seek to learn the causes. But considerable caution is needed in assigning causes. Besides the innovations that arose in response to the intellectual and affective need of greater

<sup>1</sup> *Linguistique historique*, pp. 162 ff.

expressiveness, there are many due to mere affectation. Thus, some variations supplied by the legal jargon did not invariably result in a gain in expressiveness. Extreme caution is needed also in differentiating the original nuances,<sup>1</sup> often *il faut savoir ignorer*; nor do the conjunctions in present usage necessarily correspond to these supposed original nuances (cf. *quoique*, *bien que*, below).

Lerch's critics have held that his theories were at times based upon too scant a material. The author, however, has assembled here from various collections and arranged in a masterly manner copious material illustrating chronologically the growth of the conjunctival apparatus as well as the discarding of obsolescent forms. He attempts not so much a rationalization of the development of usage as an intuitive perception of the causes. The suggestions as to differentiation and analogous formation are often illuminating. More obvious are the "historical" innovating influences: Latin of jurists and clerics, Latin through translation, Italian, the mercantile class, the models of Renaissance writers, grammarians, the academy, the *philosophes*, those of a social nature (e.g., the influence of culture in substituting inverted structure for accent), analogy, contamination, compromise, the identification of conjunctions with false etymons (e.g., *quoique* with *quamquam*), the natural linguistic and literary needs of the particular periods. These for the most part external influences are exercised mainly upon literary language, and indirectly upon language modeled upon literature, and their correspondence is with external culture. But there is a deeper civilizing force working through the collective consciousness of the whole group to express itself, and whose effect is increased intuitive delicacy. This force may often have little to do with historical accidents, or the criterion and prestige of cultivated minorities; a subtle and secret agent in the creation and molding of language, it can hardly be gauged by reference to external influences.

While some of the author's attempted explanations are ingenious and plausible, several points must remain debatable. Among these are:

1. *entre ... et*. Lerch thinks the psychological explanation of contamination of *inter* with *et ... et* unsatisfactory; for why, he asks, is not a similar contamination found outside the Romance languages? But in English, "Between them John and Mary wrote the play," are crossed or united the ideas of participation or alternation, and plurality, rendered also in *Et si dient ambure et saveir et folage*, "And they say both wise and foolish things," where *ambure*, "both," are out of logical order, affectively displaced. Lerch, however, suggests that in *iudicet dominus inter me et te, iudicare* (like Old French *jugier*) was regarded as transitive, and that from this well-known formula the Romance construction may have originated.

But could the Scripture formula be so familiar as to offer a type of construction applicable to other verbs? Would *iudicare* be likely to have the

<sup>1</sup> R. L. G. Ritchie, *Syntaxe de la conjonction que dans l'ancien français* (Paris, 1907), p. viii.

transitive interpretation in Italy and Southern France where the equivalent verb had also intransitive force (Appel 79, 15, Monaci 14, 64)? The English constructions above argue for a common "psychological" explanation.

Further, Lerch thinks that the type *irona tornoier entre moi et vos* had much to do with the substitution of the accusatives *moi, toi* for *je, tu*. Yet it might well be a popular simplification (as with nouns in Vulgar Latin), the tonic forms being naturally selected; but such would hardly be consistent with the theory that the standard is set by a cultured minority. Is not a distinction between "learned" and "popular" necessary with syntactical forms as with words?

2. With reference to the "missing" relative, the doubtful analysis of some subjunctive types, e.g., in *ne poet muer n'en plurt* (*Rol.* 725), the subjunctive is probably "prescriptive" rather than "polemical"; "he should not weep—he cannot help it"; cf. *il ne viennent a ere, n'en partissent li guet*. Lerch admits the interpretation "without the fords' parting," or "in which the fords do not part." In either the negative consecutive principle is clear, and unreality is connoted, although the double negative of the whole effects the statement of a fact. The polemic idea is no more present than in *elle ne regarde jamais la bague qu'elle ne songe à lui*. It is evident that Lerch still clings to the single volitive principle for the subjunctive, for elsewhere<sup>1</sup> he quotes F. Sommer,<sup>2</sup> who analyzes *nemo est qui id sciat: quis id sciat?* "wer soll das wissen?"—Es gibt niemanden." Now, "wer soll das wissen" here = "who should [is likely to] know that," and the mood is natural likelihood which is not volitive. Apparently Lerch has not seen Delbrück's admission of Hale's distinction between the volitive and the anticipatory forces of the subjunctive.<sup>3</sup>

3. Lerch, unable like many others to believe that *que* after comparatives of inequality may come from *quam*, thinks that *elle est plus belle qu'une rose* was shortened from *elle est plus belle que n'est une rose*. But the comparative *quam* was actually the accusative singular feminine relative pronoun.<sup>4</sup> For the relative *quam* was substituted in Vulgar Latin the masculine *quem* which >*che, que*. Why could not the conjunction *quam*, identified in sound with the relative *quam*, pass to *quem* and >*che, que*?

4. A tendency to draw overfine distinctions based on the supposed original connotation of the conjunction, and the belief that such distinctions are parallel in French, German, and English, e.g., between *comme*, "as," and *puisque*, "since," *sintemal* (used when the knowledge is more stressed). Or where the author dissents from Littré's view that *encore que* = *quoique, bienque*, reasoning thus: *encore que* = "wenn auch" (adversative); *quoique, bien que* = "obgleich" (concessive); *quoique* (concessive) denotes a more complete con-

<sup>1</sup> *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Phil.* (1925), pp. 7-8.

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. *Syntaxis d. Schulsprachen* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. *Grammatik d. indogermanischen Sprachen, IV, Syntaxis II* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 368.

<sup>4</sup> Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.*, p. 607.

tradiction than the adversative *encore que*, since *quoique* had originally generalizing force; so *ja soi-il blesiez, il est forz* is adversative and *quoiqu' il soit blesiez, il est forz* is concessive. It might be objected that even though *quoique* once had this force—as did probably “although,” “albeit,” “quamquam”—yet our terminology must be founded on the semantic force that these conjunctions have in the age of grammatical nomenclature, and Littré is speaking of that. The following distinctions, based on Latin grammar, are usually well understood today: (a) (optative-potential) concessive of indifference (*soit-il trai ou non*, etc.) and all generalizing concessive conditions (*qui que vous soyez*, etc.), in which the imagined action or state is assumed through indifference, or for the sake of argument, or through lack of definite knowledge to the contrary, merely because the speaker does not believe it invalidates the main statement; (b) (concessive of fact) *Bien qu'il pleuve, il neige aussi*, in which the fact is conceived by the speaker as able logically to impair the main statement, but which in fact is recognized as not doing so; (c) (adversative) *Quoiqu'il ne soit pas en faute, son père le punira; quoiqu'il pleuve, je sortirai*, in which the adversative fact is conceived as conflicting with the main statement and normally invalidating it more or less.

There are, however, clauses that combine (a) and (b), or assume the force of either at the will of the speaker: *bien qu'il soit honnête, il n'est pas intelligent* may = *je veux bien qu'il soit h.* (a), or = *admettons qu'il soit h. (comme on le sait, mais)* (b).

Yet there is an adversative element in many concessive clauses, e.g., *encore que J. fut bien fort, il ne pouvait pas le lever (c'était trop lourd). Bien qu'il pleuve, il neige aussi*, where “though it be true, yet” expresses the relation rather than “in spite of the fact, yet.” Again, certain other clauses may have concessive force or show the adversative relation as the point of view of the speaker shifts: *quoiqu'il pleuve, je sortirai* may show (1) fact conceded, but regarded as immaterial; (2) fact regarded as logically invalidating the main statement.

Lerch's distinction, then, is based on the supposed original generalizing force of *quoique*. Actually, however, it is not the conjunction but the speaker's attitude and the general sense that decides the relation. Further, of his examples of *encore que* (called by him adversative): *Où veulent-elles en venir, ces puissances qui désirent notre perte comme si elles étaient indépendantes, et ne périssaient pas avec nous, encore qu'elles ne vivent qu'en nous?* (“in spite of the fact that”) and *Encore que je voie bien comme vous une différence entre nous deux, cette différence, je la vois toute autre* (“although I admit that”), the first is adversative, the second concessive, in the sense defined above. To judge from *Bien que les temps soient mauvais, et encore qu'une bouche de plus à nourrir grève sensiblement notre budget<sup>1</sup>* it would appear that Littré still has some following.

<sup>1</sup>A. Theuriet, *Mons. Lulu*, p. 249.

All students of French syntax will be grateful to Professor Lerch for an invaluable summary of syntactical theory and controversy. The very full up-to-date Bibliography, given mostly *passim*, would be still more serviceable if listed with the abbreviations of authors and works.

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*Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde*. Edited by WILHELM FRAENGER.  
Vol. I. Berlin, Herbert Stubenrauch, 1925. Pp. 348, pls. 26.

The firm of Herbert Stubenrauch, which has already contributed so notably to folklore studies—Wesselski's *Märchen des Mittelalters* and Bolte's monumental edition of Pauli's *Schimpf und Ernst* come at once to mind—now undertakes the publication of an annual of the first importance. The *Jahrbuch* will be devoted to the history of folklore, the presentation of systematic surveys of source material, the appreciation of those personalities who find full explanation only before the background of the folk, e.g., Fischart, Breughel, or Abraham à Santa Clara, and lastly the closer study of three special fields: the literature, the architecture, and the plastic art of the folk. The first volume contains rather more discussion of fundamental principles than later volumes may be expected to contain. It is not clear whether the bibliographical surveys of certain fields which conclude the present volume are to be continued. Articles in the present volume discuss the relation of folklore to prehistory, the history of religions, of law, of literature, and of art. Over the whole rests the spirit of Hans Naumann's *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, which drew attention so emphatically to the nature of "primitive" thinking and its persistence primarily in the objects of particular interest in folklore study.

Naumann's essay, *Über vergleichende Volkskunde und Religionsgeschichte*, contains many parallels to his book. The corpse-eating monsters (p. 24) are, it may be noted, monsters and not giants. Schoning's ingenious hypothesis of the giant (*eoten:etan*) as originally a devourer of corpses has been completely demolished by von Sydow (*Folkminnen och Folktankar*, VI [1919], 52–96; VII [1920], 136–49), and a reference would have been in place. Naumann's hastily drawn picture of Ragnarök (p. 25) is a synthesis to set beside Olrik's brilliant dissection of the myth. He raises (pp. 28, 35) the fundamental question of the relations of the cults of the dead and of agriculture (see Kaarle Krohn, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* [1912], p. 209). He suggests (p. 34) how we may employ folklore to lay bare the nature of the Germanic gods. The task has been attempted only once, by von der Leyen in the case of Odin.

Freiherr von Künssberg's essay on folklore and legal history is welcome because of its suggestiveness and its novelty, for folklore periodicals have rarely had thoroughly competent articles on legal subjects. The suggestion (p. 69) that the changes and compromises regarding legal matters in *Märchen* will reward pursuit is worth remembering. The comment on legal antiquities

in proverbs is stimulating and awakens the question why the subject, which has been so often studied in Germany, has not found similar treatment in other countries, for example in Spain, where two opposing cultures stood so long in conflict.<sup>1</sup> To the remarks (p. 91) on a charm against a thief add a reference to my article ("Ein Diebszauber," *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, XXII [1924], 59 ff.) and another in the *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft* for the same year.<sup>2</sup> The suggested examination (p. 92) of the folklore of thieves and thievery would lead into very strange places and would be very informative; perhaps one might wait for the appearance of the articles "Dieb," "Diebstahl," and "stehlen" in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* before attempting it. The refuge beneath a harrow, of which a fugitive from justice may take advantage, is mentioned also as a protection in the traditions of the Wild Hunt.<sup>3</sup> For the story of the *Schattenbusse* (a girl demands punishment for a youth who has kissed her reflection in a mirror; his shadow is scourged) reference should be made to Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst* (ed. Bolte), Nos. 48, 298, 741, 810, and add Wesselski, *Nasreddin*, I, No. 97, 234; Chauvin, VIII, No. 163, 158; R. Foerster, *Noel du Faill*, page 39.

Petsch's *Volkskunde und Literaturwissenschaft* is more general and philosophical and, at least for me, raises fewer problems. Particularly instructive was the discussion (pp. 148 ff.) of the "primitive" poem which is lyric, dramatic, and epic at the same time. Bolte's essay, *Zur Geschichte der Punktier- und Losbücher*, displays his usual erudition. The portions dealing with art are informative and stimulating, but I cannot express a competent opinion. All in all, the *Jahrbuch für historische Volkskunde* raises high hopes for the future.

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*Altgermanische Dichtung* (Fascicles 11, 12, 16, 17, 21, 24 of *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*). By ANDREAS HEUSLER. Wildpark-Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1925-26. Pp. 200.

Professor Heusler reconstructs the history and character of Germanic literature before the influence of the church and of classical antiquity had in large measure determined the course of future development. No one is as competent as he to perform such a task, and his success in handling refractory materials makes a notable contribution to the *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*. *Altgermanische Dichtung* defines and characterizes an art which is almost entirely lost. The remains are scanty and are often known only by allusion. Further difficulties appear in the facts that the monuments, such as

<sup>1</sup> At least I find no mention of any significant studies in Bernstein or Duplessis.

<sup>2</sup> Feilberg, *Sjæletro*, p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> See also Neubaur, *Zs. d. Ver. f. Volksk.*, XXII (1912), 46, n. 1.

they are, exist in different Germanic languages and in the writings of classical historians, that no one country or language preserves an even approximately complete series of representative pieces, and that all the longer documents which contain characteristic elements or traits belong to a later age. The eclectic and comparative procedure which is followed is forced upon the author by the sources themselves. We must go to work in similar fashion in studying Germanic myth and heroic lore. The danger to which all such work is particularly subject, viz., the temptation to indulge in fanciful reconstructions, is avoided by Professor Heusler in the main; the scanty facts are not used as a substructure of a huge imaginative edifice.

Some details are noteworthy for one reason or another, and to them I devote a word or two. Inscriptions, at least those which antedate Christian influence or the flood tide of alliterative poetry, provide very little metrical alliterative material, less indeed than might be suggested by Professor Heusler's remarks (p. 21, § 17; cf. pp. 81-82, § 73). A critical examination of the runic inscriptions is likely to prove disappointing in its results. To be sure, the subject is not yet entirely closed; see the pregnant remarks of Dr. Jan de Vries, *Traditie en persoonlijkheid in de oude germanische epische poezie* (Arnhem, 1926), page 11. Heusler regards the much disputed second Merseburg charm as heathen. I cannot feel sure that the arguments of Kaarle Krohn (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1912), pp. 213 ff.) and R. T. Christiansen (*FF Communications*, XVIII) for a Christian origin are to be set aside without remark.<sup>1</sup> Professor Heusler notes the lack of examples of primitive Germanic proverbs, although traces seem to be visible in later tradition. To his remarks on the *Sagwort* (i.e., a proverbial form of the type: "Every one to his taste," said the farmer and kissed the cow) add Fr. Seiler, "Das deutsche Sagwort" (*Deutsche Kultur im Spiegel des deutschen Lehnworts*, IV). Both this and the usual type of proverb offer unsolved and largely untouched problems; cf. pages 67-69. Noteworthy is Professor Heusler's denial of choric poetry among the ancient Germans (p. 108), a denial which leaves an airy castle of fancy in ruins. The concluding chapters (pp. 109-96) give a brilliant characterization of the more elevated forms of Germanic verse, the *Preislied* and the narrative lays. Here may be found an excellent presentation of the influence of Gothic culture on the northern literatures. The publisher is to be congratulated on the attractive form of the book.

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<sup>1</sup> But cf. J. Schwietering, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, LV, 148 ff., and *Zs. f. d. Phil.*, XLIX, 253 ff.

## BRIEFER MENTION

In *The Philosophy of Speech* (New York: Macmillan Co., no date) Mr. George Willis writes readable, and at times entertainingly, on such subjects as the birth and growth of speech, metaphor, grammar, spelling, purism, etc. He is interested in philology, but the illustrations he adduces will frequently startle the ordinary student of that subject. A very mild sample is the suggestion that "if it is correct to make a substantive form *mine* from *my*, it cannot be inherently incorrect to make a substantive form *hissen* from *his*." Mr. Willis is at his best when he trusts to his instinct and writes on matters of present-day concern, as in the chapters on "The Reform of Spelling," "Purism," and "Speech and Education." His remarks on the teaching of Latin are particularly suggestive: "What the student of English most urgently needs is a knowledge not of the syntax, but the vocabulary of Latin. The Latin syntax is dead, but Latin language is living. The mortar of the structure has been disintegrated by time, but the bricks have been taken to build up our own and many other European tongues." This is well said, and the practical suggestions which Mr. Willis makes on this foundation are worth considering.—W. A. C.

The private library of the late Albert Stimming, who died in June, 1922, professor of Romance languages at Göttingen since 1892 (where he succeeded Karl Vollmöller), has been acquired in its entirety by Swarthmore College. Stimming's doctoral dissertation was a now-forgotten essay on the life and works of Villon, but his next publications, editions of Jaufre Rudel and of Bertran de Born, especially the latter, have retained their importance. He was intrusted with the chapter "Provençal literature" in Gröber's *Grundriss* (II, 1897); later, he devoted many years of labor to the Anglo-Norman *Boeve de Haumâne* and the three continental redactions of the same legend, the latter requiring five substantial volumes in the series of the "Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur." An indefatigable worker and conscientious teacher, Stimming's was a fruitful career, and it is fortunate that his library of some three thousand items has not suffered dispersion.—T. A. J.

It will surely be a surprise to many American scholars to learn of the rich collection in the field of Provençal language and literature possessed by the New York Public Library. The reference list compiled by Daniel C. Haskell (New York, 1925) forms a substantial volume of 885 pages, of which some 550 are occupied by titles on the local history of Southern France. Nearly a hundred pages are given to modern Provençal language and literature, the body

of this collection being the gift of Mrs. Thomas A. Janvier. "The material listed here," says the compiler, "represents a fairly good collection of books for the student of either the old Provençal or the modern revival." This is a modest statement indeed; we may add that for convenience of arrangement and accuracy in presentation and printing, the work has been admirably done.

Students of this subject will be particularly grateful for the listing of widely scattered journal articles. Not only are *Romania*, the *Annales du Midi* and the *Revue des Langues romanes* covered up to date, but also the German periodicals and even such unpromising repertoires (for Provençal studies) as the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America!* The chapters in the monumental De Vic-Vaissette *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (16 vols.) are separately entered; with this degree of thoroughness we regret not to find mention of Hermann Suchier's "Die Literatur der Provenzalen" (40 pp., in his *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1900; 2d ed., 1912)—a brief treatment, to be sure, but one full of ripe knowledge and original views. The list of Americans mentioned here is short: it includes Grandgent, Adams, Dawson, Deister, Shepard (whose *Jausbert de Puycibot* came too late for entry), Carnahan, and E. H. Wilkins, the last for his study on the origin of the Italian *canzone* (*Mod. Phil.*, XII).—T. A. J.

Students of the medieval lyric will be rewarded by reading M. Delbouille's *Les origines de la Pastourelle*, Brussels, 1926 ("Acad. roy. Mém.", XX, fasc. 2). After a clear and succinct account of the various theories proposed, the author attacks the recent view of Edmond Faral (*Romania*, XLIX, 204–59) that the pastourelle owes its growth to the imitation of the *Bucolics* of Vergil as interpreted stylistically by Servius and Conrad of Hirschau (*Dialogus super auctores*). While the genre has at times an aristocratic flavor, it can hardly be rated as *courtain* in the sense in which we now understand that word, and except for its use of the "shepherdess" it differs in theme and in content but little from the *chanson dramatique* or *de mal-mariée*. Cercamon's "la usanza antiga" is not necessarily a reference, as Faral thought it was, to classical antiquity, and the *Carmina Burana* and the MS of Saint-Omer show that the pastourelle is merely a variant of a larger genre "qui aurait pour thème le récit de la rencontre d'une belle à la campagne."

Its origin is therefore to be found in the Medieval Latin erotic lyric, according to Delbouille. And he then traces its theme back, through the twelfth-century collection discovered in 1923 by Nicolau d'Olwer (the Catalan scholar) and the *Versus Eporediensis* of the eleventh century, to the amorous dialogues and the famous *Invitatio amice* of the Cambridge MS published by Breul in 1915. Since the author whom D'Olwer calls the *Anōnim enamorat* refers directly to the nuns of Remiremont and the well-known Concilium Amoris, it would seem possible to trace these lyric forms to the northeast and to regard ancient Lotharingia as the birthplace of the erotic lyric—especially since the authors of the Cambridge lyrics apparently lived in the same region.

This, at least, is Delbouille's conclusion (p. 41), which accords with the view of his teacher, Maurice Wilmotte, that the Latin prototypes of French narrative literature—the *Wallarius*, the *Ecbasis Captivi*, the *Ysengrimus*, and the *Ruodlieb*—were produced in the same territory.

On the face of it the new theory is enticing. It certainly deserves careful consideration. One of its weak points is that the particular stanza which Delbouille adduces (p. 39) from MS P of Breul's collection was probably written in Limoges. The MS came from St. Martial's at Limoges, and, as F. M. Warren has shown (*PMLA*, XXIV, lxvi), the lyric enthusiasm of St. Martial's monks is a factor to be reckoned with in any attempt to explain the origins of troubadour and trouvère poetry. Finally, it is always possible, as P. S. Allen (*Mod. Phil.*, VI, 180) wisely said, that "long previous to the documented poetry of troubadour, trouvère, and minnesinger there existed a body of popular vernacular love-songs which influenced and refreshed Latin lyrics of love and spring and wine, and which in turn these latter fed." In this regard, the studies of Gaston Paris and Jeanroy are still important and may some day prove to be essentially correct. Meantime, the Latin side of the question has been advanced considerably by the interesting study of Delbouille. His views and those of Voretzsch (*Einführung* [3d ed.], pp. 147-49) overlap in several noteworthy respects.—W. A. N.

In Kurt Glaser's *Altfranzösisches Lesebuch des späteren Mittelalters*, Halle, 1926 (already announced in these columns), we have the companion volume to that of Voretzsch on the Old French period proper. While the work is intended primarily for students in German universities, it serves also to remind us of the lack of this kind of book in other countries besides Germany. Differ as one inevitably will in regard to "selections," Glaser's choice is representative and appears to be carefully edited. On the whole, it is preferable to Klemperer's *Einführung in das Mittelfranzösische* (Leipzig, 1921), which extends to the threshold of the seventeenth century, whereas Glaser wisely does not go beyond Mellin de Saint-Gelays.

On the other hand, one may question Glaser's inclusion of Calvin under the heading of *Religiöse Theorie* and the exclusion of such a representative *rhetoriqueur* as Jean Lemaire de Belges. Certainly Calvin, especially as regards theory, belongs to the Renaissance and not the Middle Ages, and Lemaire is both distinguished as a writer and thoroughly representative of the flamboyant Gothic period. It is to be regretted that Glaser does not use Guiffrey for his selections from Marot, P. Champion for those from Charles d'Orléans, Foulet for those from Villon, and Calmette (*Classiques de l'histoire de France*) for those from Commynes. And certainly *Le nouveau Pathelin* (p. 142) can only be intended as an anticlimax to its famous predecessor, the extract from which is based on the excellent edition of Holbrook.

As regards *Pathelin*, the authorship of this famous farce is the subject of a detailed and interesting study (*Elliott Monograph* [Princeton, 1926], 17), by

Louis Cons, who has recently been called to the chair of French literature at the University of Illinois. Cons attributes the work to Guillaume Alecis (not Alexis, as in Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 1168), the Benedictine friar, popularly known in his day as "le bon moyn de Lyre" (Normandy). While the case rests on internal evidence and can therefore not be carried beyond the realm of "plausibility," the arguments of Cons are solidly supported by linguistic and literary-historical evidence.

The plan of the study might easily serve as a model of others of a similar type. Cons first gives a chronological account of previous attempts to solve this knotty problem. He then discusses ably the *Pathelin* itself: its date, which he narrows down to about 1464; its dialect, which contains distinct traces of Norman; the milieu which produced it: its relation to the drapers of Rouen; its attitude toward the world of sham and deceit; its "clerical" background, etc. This is followed by three chapters dealing respectively with Alecis the man, Alecis the writer, and Alecis the cleric, in each case pointing out the intimate—and indeed striking—appurtenance of Alecis' acknowledged works to the *Pathelin*. Finally, Cons seeks to clinch his argument by a reference to Alecis' *Faintes du Monde*, in which occur the well-known lines:

Tel a largement de blason  
Qui ne sait pas son pathelin—

lines which Cons skilfully interprets as meaning "si l'on ne sait pas son Pathelin," rather than in the more generally accepted signification of "qui n'est pas très malin." In the former case, Alecis would undoubtedly be referring, in a somewhat veiled manner, to a work of which obviously he was in no position to admit the authorship.

While, then, the authorship of Alecis is not proved, it is rendered extremely plausible, and this together with the many valuable side-lights which Cons has thrown on the *Pathelin* places his monograph in the front rank of the many studies on this fascinating play. Not the least of Cons's real achievements is his sensitiveness as a critic to the subtlety and humor of the *Pathelin* itself.—W. A. N.

Walther von Wartburg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: eine Darstellung des galloromanischen Sprachschatzes*, which began to appear in September, 1922, but was suspended after six fascicles had been distributed to subscribers, has now fortunately resumed publication, the seventh fascicle bringing the work down to the article *braca*. The author has been obliged to assume the financial responsibility of the enterprise, and sends out an appeal for substantial support (subscriptions at Fr. 6 [Swiss] per fascicle may be sent to H. R. Sauerlander & Cie, Aarau, Switzerland). This is an etymological dictionary of the French language conceived on a vaster scale than anything hitherto thought possible. The impetus given to the study of the "parlers de

France" by Gaston Paris, in 1888, resulted not only in the monumental *Atlas linguistique de la France*, but in the collection of a vast amount of other material which the makers of official dictionaries have never thought it necessary to make use of. In no country is the distinction more sharply drawn than in France between what is acceptable in literature and what is not; folk-lore as a study languishes, and only independent minds like Montaigne and Molière have ventured to exhibit a real interest in the humble poetry of the populace. The wealth of lexical material utilized by Wartburg is surprising even to those familiar with French lexicography; thus the article *barba* occupies eight closely packed columns, while Celtic *barga* requires no less than twelve. It is to be hoped that many subscribers will be found to share with the author the burden of this meritorious undertaking.

A work of slightly different character but also of importance to all students of the French language is E. Gamillscheg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, the first six fascicles of which (down to *essai*) are at hand at this writing. The French word is entered in its modern form and defined; then follow the date of appearance (the *Dictionnaire général* is much in need of revision under this head) and the etymology, the latter often with brief discussion and references. The author exhibits a high grade of critical acumen, and one has only to compare this work with Scheler's to see what great advances have been made in this field in the last forty years. The publisher is Carl Winter, Heidelberg (subscriptions at the rate of M. 2 per fascicle of 64 pp.; the price to be increased after the completion of the work).—T. A. J.

Although in their full biographies and extensive translations the two studies which make up Professor Mario Praz's *Secentismo e Marinismo in Inghilterra—John Donne, Richard Crashaw* (Florence: La Voce, 1925) are addressed especially to an Italian audience, they nevertheless constitute an important addition to the scholarship and criticism of English literature of the seventeenth century. They are not concerned primarily with the narrower problem of Italian influence on Donne and Crashaw; erudition is subordinated to the purpose of balanced criticism and interpretation. The section on Donne is perhaps not so much an original contribution as a digest of the literature on the subject, with, I believe, too much emphasis on the supposed "spiritual aridity" of Donne; but a study of this poet from an Italian point of view offers cross-lights which are both novel and valuable; for instance, the discussion of the Renaissance on pages 113 and following. The section on Crashaw contains more new material. It is, indeed, the best study of the poet now available. It explores Crashaw's relations to the Latin elegiac and epigrammatic poetry of the Jesuits, to Marino, and in general to the movement in religion and taste which found expression in the art of El Greco and Bernini. Such aspects of the period are usually neglected by English and American scholars, and this volume should prove of great value in enriching the study of the religious feeling and literary art of the century.—LOUIS I. BREDVOLD.

From the graduate school in English at Yale have recently issued two interesting and important volumes concerning Tobias Smollett. Howard Swazey Buck, in his *Study in Smollett, chiefly "Peregrine Pickle"* (New Haven, 1925), starts with the apparently simple fact that the second edition of *Peregrine Pickle* appeared in 1758 and not (as people have unaccountably assumed) a few months after the first edition in 1751. This lapse of years Dr. Buck uses with great skill in deducing observations on the early popularity of the novel and the bearing of the revisions of 1758 on the author's quarrels with Garrick and others. Dr. Buck gives us shrewdly argued points as to the authorship of the "Memoirs of a Lady of Quality," with the concluding strong probability that Lady Vane herself wrote them (with some aid from Dr. Shebbeare) and that Smollett assisted her in revising them for the 1758 edition. The history of the *Regicide* also falls into the period of Smollett's life studied by Dr. Buck, and on it is expended more very incisive reasoning. Of course Smollett's accounts of his tragedy in *Roderick Random* and in the Preface to the *Regicide* agree neither in chronology nor in the persons involved. In spite of this lack of agreement Dr. Buck's conclusions—based mainly on the evidently more trustworthy Preface—seem incontrovertible though fine spun. Incidentally, the rôle of Lord Rattle seems to contain a strong admixture of Colley Cibber; and some details far from Chesterfieldian in the rôle of Earl Sheerwit make it seem likewise synthetic. Dr. Buck's conclusions regarding Lyttleton, Fielding, and Garrick are of first importance and make his volume highly significant.

The second piece of work to be mentioned is *The Letters of Tobias Smollett, M.D.* collected and edited by Edward S. Noyes, Ph.D. (Harvard University Press, 1926). Obviously this likewise is a book now fundamental in study of the novelist. The volume should stimulate further search for manuscript letters by Smollett; for the correspondence is most valuable to one who wishes to form a just view of a personality the thorny aspects of which have been too often stressed. It is easy to criticize any annotation, but one wonders why a reader of Smollett's letters (which are for the historian mainly) should have to be told the meaning of *invita Minerva* or the location of Jermyn Street. Some of the really difficult annotation, on the other hand, is admirably done. Dr. Noyes's habit of referring to chapters as well as to pages in Smollett's novels is excellent in view of the increasing number of editions, but it is trying when he refers (p. 156) to chapters xlii and xlvi but should refer to lxii and lxiii. The volume is most attractive in printing. These two books, both achievements in themselves, will do much to further interest in a man of letters who has hardly got his deserts at the hands of the historians or critics of literature.—G. S.

The fourth report of the Folksong Committee of the League of German Folklore Societies (Freiburg, i. B., 1926) chronicles the events of the years 1918-26. Since the organization and its very notable achievements are little

known in this country, it is not out of place to describe them briefly. The Committee has striven to create a center for the study of German folksong, and under the competent management of Professor John Meier has attained its aim. All research in German folksong must have resort to the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv in Freiburg i. B. The archives fall into several subdivisions. The section devoted to songs excerpted from the MSS of Ludwig Erk includes almost 19,000 items. The work of selection and copying has been completed and therefore no additions are being made to this section. It was this portion of the archives which was on the point of being published in 1914. Another section contains MS texts of folksongs, either in originals or in copies, to the extent of more than 75,000 items. Here are included the transcripts of the materials in all the important public and private collections as well as material collected by or for the Volksliedarchiv itself. Printed folksongs from the various books of folksong are arranged on cards in a third section and number 15,000. The soldiers' songs taken down from 1914 on number 3,500 and form a last division. For all these subdivisions indexes exist or are in course of preparation. The musical material is in Berlin under the direction of Max Friedländer.

The aim of the committee is the preparation and publication of a definitive edition of German folksong to replace Erk and Böhme's *Deutscher Liederhort*, and, in general, the stimulation of interest in the folksong. The completion of such an edition is naturally a thing of the distant future and until then all significant research must draw upon the treasures of the Deutsches Volksliedarchiv. The activities which have been carried on in furtherance of the second aim, the stimulation of interest in folksong, are already bearing fruit. More than a dozen provinces have been awakened to the need of collecting folksongs. One book—*Alte und neue Lieder*—has sold in its first edition 300,000 copies, and a second edition, which is much enlarged and improved, is just off the press. Such success, to which few organizations in Germany can report anything comparable in the same period, is due in large measure to the genius and tact of Professor Meier.

We may also notice here Professor Meier's study of one of the most beautiful German folksongs, *Das Guggisberger Lied* (52 pp.; Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhain, 1926). By comparing ten German texts (some with melody) and a Lettish melody he shows in convincing fashion that the text is composite in origin (*zusammengesungen*), that the words of the refrain are a later addition, that the melody belongs to another song, and that the melodies of the echo-refrain and of the two-line refrain are drawn from still other sources. A more motley combination can scarcely be imagined, and yet the result is homogeneous and moving in the extreme. He has done a similarly fine piece of work in "Ein Schifflein sah ich fahren, Kapitän und Leutnant," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, XX (1916), 206-29 (add G. Schünemann, *Das Lied der deutschen Kolonisten in Russland* [Munich, 1923], Part I, p. 16 at bottom; *ibid.*, Part II, p. 362, No. 394, p. 416 n.; Lucke, *Zeits. des Vereins für*

*Volkskunde*, XXVIII [1918], 79-88). Such studies as these are models for the investigation of folksong. American ballad scholarship might hang its head in shame had it not G. L. Kittredge's "The Ballad of Lovewell's Fight," *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames* (1925), to put beside them.—A. T.

The death in 1924 of P.-J. Rousselot, the famous founder of experimental phonetics, was the signal for many articles by his colleagues and students. The data to be found in these articles have been embodied, with argumentations, in a chapter "L'œuvre de l'abbé Rousselot, la Science expérimentale du language," by the Abbé A. Millet in his *Précis d'expérimentation phonétique* (Paris: Didier, 1926). The chapter in question traces the career of the master together with the history and evolution of the science; mention is made of the chief scholars trained by him, their work, and the laboratories established by them. Emphasis is given to the fundamental teachings of Rousselot, such as his insistence that the physiological aspect of language is of primary importance, that all other approaches must be based on this; that for such studies recourse to instruments is the only acceptable method since experience shows that the ear is not to be trusted. The subtitle of Millet's book is *La physiologie des articulations. I. Enregistrement.—II. Interprétations.* Drawing largely on the *Principes* modified by six years of collaboration with the author, it is intended as a laboratory manual. The material is extremely well organized; it should serve excellently both as a guide to the worker in the laboratory and to those who wish to be able to read intelligently the results of research in experimental phonetics. Sections on the prerequisites for work in the field and on the choice and treatment of persons to serve as subjects are followed by the description and use of the necessary instruments. About half the book is devoted to the interpretation of tracings which appear in fifty-two figures. This sort of training is of great value, for to become expert in the matter requires much experience. Practice in performing the experiments in the text and comparing the two tracings will be found illuminating. The only other practical laboratory manual now available is the *Praktikum* of Panconcelli-Calzia; this attacks too many types of investigation without carrying any of them far enough, and does not handle the matter primarily from the linguistic point of view. No laboratory can afford to be without Rousselot's *Principes*, but the work must serve as a reference book rather than as a guide. Millet's Appendix of *Renseignements divers* deals briefly but clearly with the methods of investigating quantity, pitch, intensity, and quality.—C. E. PARMENTER.

Edwin B. Place's tiny *Manual elemental de novelística española* (Madrid: Victoriano Suárez, 1926) modestly professes to serve no other end than to introduce students of Spanish literature to the short-story genre, and for this purpose it may be commended. The author is sound in stating that this form

is by no means so detached as its Italian counterpart. The native *cuento* of folklore origin persists after the Italian *novella* had provided a more artistic model, and *cuento* and Italianized short-story are often mingled in the same collection. Mr. Place finds that the Italian tale exerted a very indirect influence until the second half of the seventeenth century; but surely Timoneda and Cervantes were directly influenced, and the great vogue of Boccaccio in medieval Spain cannot have been without result. Brief as is the book one is surprised at certain omissions. Such a famous story as the "Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa" deserves adequate treatment but is not mentioned. In the bibliography to the chapter on Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares* no mention is made of Ieaza's treatise, the most important study devoted to these stories to date; it also gives information about Cervantes' imitators in the genre. Each of Mr. Place's seven chapters is equipped with a bibliography; at the end is a General Bibliography and a chronological table of the Spanish novel in general.—G. T. N.

The German translation of Fitzmaurice-Kelly's classic manual, *Geschichte der spanischen Literatur* (Heidelberg, 1925), long deferred by the war and by post-war conditions, will be welcomed everywhere. The content differs little from that of late French and Spanish translations. The translator, Elisabeth Vischer (a pseudonym), has succeeded well in her task, aided by the competent editing of Adalbert Hämel. Both of these have treated the text in a spirit of respect, making few if any alterations. Hämel's *Bemerkungen und Berichtigungen* elucidate and complete, rather than correct, the text. Those of us who corresponded with the late Fitzmaurice-Kelly during the war know how he looked forward to this German edition. Intensely patriotic, with all the ardor of one who came of a family with a military tradition, and mourning the death in battle of a gallant brother, he sang no hymn of hate. It is a pity that one does not feel free to publish his interesting views on German scholarship, expressed under the most trying circumstances.—G. T. N.

